

1099c John Cook-

Miscellaneous Tracts:

VOL. III. Viz.

1099c

- I. Proving, The Adoration of Images; Praying to Angels and Saints; Purgatory; The Doctrine of the Seven Sacraments; Transubstantiation; The Denying of the Cup in the Sacrament to the People; Private Masses; The Adoration of the Sacrament; The Priests putting the Bread into the Mouths of the Communicants; Being present at the Celebration of the Sacrament, and not Communicating; And, Auricular Confession: To be Doctrines and Practices not known in the *Spanish Church*, in the beginning of the Eighth Century, when it was dispersed by the *Moors* Conquest of *Spain*: And that the *Spanish* Kings had an Ecclesiastical Supremacy, equal to that which is now in the Crown of *England*.
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- VI. An Essay on the Countries, Religion, Learning, Numbers, Forms of Government, and the Chief Cause of the Successes of the Nations, by which the *Roman Empire* was pulled down.
- VII. An Essay on the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, particularly on that which relates to Appeals to *Rome*.

The Second Edition Corrected.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D. and Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

LONDON: Printed for J. Churchill, at the Black-Swan in Pater-Noster-Row. MDCCLXIV.



TO THE
Right Reverend Father in GOD,

GILBERT

L^d Bishop of *Salisbury*,

AND
Chancellor of the most Noble
Order of the GARTER.

My Lord,

YOUR Favourable Acceptance of every thing that tends to the justifying of the Reformation ; which, by Your Immortal History of it, is set in a truer Light than it was ever seen in before ; together with the kind Reception my *History of the Church of Malabar* met with under Your Lordship's Patronage, emboldens me to supplicate, to have the same Honour for the following Tract ; which, if it were not prevented by some Abler Pen, possessed of more Conveniences for

The Epistle Dedicatory.

such a Work, was promised in my *Dissertation upon the Papal Supremacy*: but that not having happened, as I wish it had, in conformity to that Promise, and of which I was put in mind by some Friends, I did set about that Work; and tho' I cannot but be sensible, that it might have been done by others to more advantage; I am mistaken, if in the following *Treat*, it is not sufficiently proved, That neither the *Adoration*, nor the *Use of Images*, nor *Praying to Angels and Saints*, nor *Purgatory*, nor none of the other fore-mentioned *Doctrines* and *Practices*, were ever so much as known in the *Spanish Church*, in the beginning of the *Eighth Century*; no more than the *Papal Supremacy*; to which I have shewed, that *Ancient Church* to have been absolutely a *Stranger*. For I cannot but think, that to all unprejudiced Persons, *Fourty Councils* having met in a *Church*, in a *Succession* of some *Ages*, to *Treat* about *Matters of Faith and Discipline*, without ever having mentioned any of those *Doctrines* and *Practices*, in any of their *Acts or Canons*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

nons, tho' they are very numerous, must be as strong a Proof of their not having been known in that Church, as *Herodotus*, *Livy*, nor no other Ancient Historian, *Greek* nor *Latin*, having any where in their Relations of Battels, mentioned Cannon or Gun-powder; is, of those Engines of War not having been in Use, nor known in their Days.

And as that great Ancient, and Indisputably Orthodox Church, did agree with the present Church of *England*, in not having in her Faith and Worship any of the fore-mentioned Errors and Corruptions; so there is likewise a perfect Harmony betwixt those Two Churches, in all the Positives and Substantials of the Christian Religion; as I have here demonstrated, as to one great Doctrine, and which of all others has the most Adversaries, to wit, That of the *Royal Ecclesiastical Supremacy*.

Now all this being considered, and farther, that there is not one of the fore-said *Doctrines* and *Practices*, which is not,

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as I have shewed, acknowledged by some of the Learned Writers of the *Roman Communion*; to be a Novelty, or at least not to have been from the Beginning; must not the *Roman Church* have a strange Forehead, to brag so loud as she does of the Primitive Antiquity of all the Parts of her present Faith and Worship; and to decry the Protestant as new, and of a late Date; whereas in Truth the Protestant, as appears from the following true Representation of the State of the *Ancient Spanish Church*, is no otherwise new, than as Ancient Truths do appear to be so, when they are restored; after having been long hid in dark and ignorant Ages: For tho' Errors may be old, and of long standing, as several of the fore-mentioned are, and in Ages wherein Learning did not rise so high as their Origin, may have been believed to be from the Beginning; yet as Truth is still older, so when it comes to be discovered, its Restoration is very unjustly call'd, *The Advancing of Novelties.*

In

The Epistle Dedicatory.

In the main, this was plainly the Case of the Reformation, and especially in the *Church of England*; which departed no farther from the *Roman Church*, than the *Roman* had departed from the *Catholick Church* in her First and Purest Ages, when the Epithet of *Catholick* was given her in the *Creed*.

The Second and Third *Tracts* do petition to have the same Honour, and the rather for their having some Hopes, That Your Lordship may be provoked by their Imperfections to oblige the World with a fuller Discovery of the Arts and Methods by which the *Roman Church*, notwithstanding her manifold and manifest great Errors and Corruptions, does hold so many Nations under her Bondage.

The Fourth *Tract*, which shews, That no Episcopal See has ever had so many direful Schisms in it, as the *Roman*; which pretends to have been erected by Christ, to help the whole *Church* to Peace and Unity; does hope, That Your Lordship will not deny it Your Patronage. The
A 4 other

The Epistle Dedicatory.

other Two desire the same Privilege ;
seeing, that if they be not unworthy,
they are not improper to be Dedicated
to a Person in Your Lordship's Station.

I shall give Your Lordship no farther
Trouble ; but only to beg Your Pardon
for this bold Address, and with it Your
Blessing.

That Your Lordship's Exalted Genius,
with Learning commensurate to it ; and
Your Exemplary Devotion, and Your
extraordinary Pastoral Cares and La-
bours ; and Your large Charities to all
that are in Distress, but chiefly to Poor
Clergy-men, and their desolate Widows
and Children ; *may so shine before Men,*
that others beholding those Your Good Works,
may glorifie our Father which is in Heaven ;
and that after a Long and happy Life on
Earth, You may be rewarded for them
with an Immortal Crown of Glory ; is
the hearty Prayer, of,

Your Lordship's

Most Obliged,

And most Humble Servant,

MICHAEL GEDDES.

A
TRACT,
P R O V I N G

*The Adoration of Images,
Praying to Angels and
Saints.
Purgatory,
The Doctrine of the Seven
Sacraments,
Transubstantiation,
The Denying of the Cup
in the Sacrament to the
People,
Private Masses,*

*The Adoration of the Sa-
crament,
The Priests putting the
Bread into the Mouths
of the Communicants,
Being present at the Cele-
bration of the Sacrament
and not Communica-
ting,
And Auricular Confessi-
on,*

To be *Doctrines* and *Practices* not known
in the *Spanish Church*, in the begin-
ing of the *Eighth Century*, when it was
dispersed by the *Moors* Conquest of
Spain: And that the *Spanish Kings* had
an *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*, equal to
that which is now in the *Crown of
England*.

From the Beginning it was not so.

By *MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D.* and
Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *J. Churchill*, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-
Noster-Row*. 1714

TRACT

PROVING

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the office of Justice of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, in the year 1850. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and are taken from the list published by the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, in the year 1850.

To be known and certified not known in the County of Middlesex, in the year 1850, when it was signed by the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, and that the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain had signed the same, equal to the same, which is now in the Crown of Great Britain.

By MICHAEL GORDON, J. D. and
Chancellor of the County of Middlesex.

LONDON:
Printed by J. GORDON, at the end of the year 1850.

OF THE
Use and Adoration.
 OF
IMAGES.

NONE that have read Primitive Ecclesiastical History with Attention, and a Mind unbiaſſed, can be ignorant, of *Images in Worſhip* having been held in Detestation by all Chriſtians, for ſome Ages after the Apoſtles Days; and that the Door by which *Images* did firſt creep into the Chriſtian Church, was an unwarrantable Compliance with the Heathens, in order to draw them inſenſibly to Chriſtianity; nor can they be ignorant, of the *Roman*, having been the firſt Chriſtian Church, that joyned her ſelf to Idols, for ſo *Images in Worſhip* are truly call'd; and for which Reason the *Roman Church* is in Prophecy ſtil'd by *St. John*, *Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations, or Idols, of the Earth.*

But

But whereas the *Spanish* Church, from her Foundation until the beginning of the Eighth Century, had no dependance, and but little Communication with the *Roman*, as I have shewed on another Occasion; so by that means, that Church kept herself undefiled with *Images*, many Years after the *Roman* Church had polluted her Worship with them.

And that it was thus with the *Spanish* Church, from her Foundation until the beginning of the Eighth Century; when she was dispersed by the *Moors* Conquest of *Spain*; plainly appears from that Church's profound Silence concerning *Images*, in all her Councils, which were near Fourty in Number; and that, notwithstanding there were such occasions in those Councils for her to have mention'd them, that she could not but have done it, if they had been in her at that time, only for Instruction; and much less if they had been adored by her.

And as this Church's *Silence* concerning *Images* is undeniable; so, with the Judicious and Unprejudiced, that *Silence* has a Force, to prove, that she had none; too great to be baffled or eluded by any shuffling Niceties or Distinctions; and especially considering the Occasions which she had to have spoke of them; of which, out of many, to put the Matter out of doubt, I shall give a few Instances:

First,

First, That Antient Church in several of those Councils speaks particularly of Churches, and of all their Parts and Ornaments; and also of their *Treasurers* and *Stewards*, and of all the Things which were committed to the Charge of those Officers; and all this without a syllable of Images.

Secondly, In several of those Councils such severe Canons were made for the extirpating of *Idolatry*, that if the Church which made them had at the same time had any Images in her, she could not but have made some Exceptions in their Favour, which is no way done by her in any of those Canons.

So the Eleventh Canon of the Twelfth Council of *Toledo* held in the Year 581, and the Second Canon of the Sixteenth Council held in the same City in the Year 693. do both begin with a Repetition of the whole Prohibition in the Second Commandment; which, had that Church at the same time Adored or Used Images herself, she could not have had the Confidence to have done? As we see the *Roman* Church, bold though she is, even in her *Catechism* to her *Parish Priests*, though it is in *Latin*, does for that Reason forbear to repeat the whole Prohibition; not so much as mentioning there the Words, *Nor the Likeness of any Thing that is*
in

in Heaven, or in the Waters under the Earth : which Words are expressly mention'd in both those Canons without any Limitations, Distinctions, or Paraphrase upon them; neither is there in either of those two long Canons, in which Idolatry is severely condemned, the least Intimation that Christians might use *Images, or the Likeness of any Thing that is in Heaven or Earth,* in their Worship, without transgressing the *Second Commandment.* And yet farther, in the Writings of *St. Isidore,* and of some other Bishops of that Antient Church, which are extant, there is not the least mention of her having had any Images in her : and which considering the Subjects they write upon, they could not but have spoke of, if they had been in their Church.

But we have not the Silence only of the Antient *Spanish Church,* tho' that, as it is circumstantiated is sufficient to demonstrate, That she had no Images in her, but we have her Word also for it, in the Thirty Sixth Canon of the Council of *Eliberis,* which is as follows,

Placuit Picturas in Ecclesia esse non debere; ne quod colitur & adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.

It is agreed, That Pictures ought not to be in Churches, that that which is Worshipped and Adored, be not painted on Walls.

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The *Roman Demetrius's* are put to hard shifts to fasten a Gloss on this Antient Canon, which shall reconcile it to the Doctrine and Practice of their Church.

Some will have it, That *Painted Images* only, but not *Carved*, are forbidden by it; but since this Gloss, though it were true, would not reconcile that Canon to the Doctrine and Practice of the *Roman Church*, which has in her many more Painted than Carved Images. Others, therefore, will have it, That *Pictures* were forbid to be painted on the Walls of Churches by that Canon; because if a Persecution did arise, they could not be removed, and so would be a laughing stock to the *Jews* and *Heathens*. But as there is nothing in that Canon that gives the least Colour to its being thus interpreted, so neither were the *Spanish Christians*, at the time when that Council was held, in any danger of being driven from their Churches by the *Jews*, who are indeed great haters of Images; and not in much by the *Heathens* neither, who, if the Christian Worship would have allowed of Images, would have liked that Worship the better for it; a late and unwarranted Compliance with the *Heathens* in their fondness for Images having been visibly the Thing that first brought them into Christian Churches.

A Third

A Third Interpretation was therefore devised, which was, That it was out of a profound Reverence for Images, that that Council forbid them to be painted on Walls, because by the breaking or cracking of the Plaister whereon they were drawn, they might be so defaced as to fall under Contempt: This, tho' it is their last, is in my Mind the poorest shift of the Three; tho' they are all poor enough; for unless it can be proved, That the Plaister of Walls was worse, and more apt to break and crack at the Time of the Council of *Eliberis*, than it was at the time when the Second Council of *Nice* was held, which in exprefs Words commands *Images to be painted on the Walls of Churches*, the First of those Two Councils must have had a greater veneration for Images, and have taken more care of them than the Last did, which will not easily be believed by any that know both those Assemblies, and their Times, and Temper. Now to what wretched shifts are they driven that dare venture on giving an interpretation to a Law, which is flatly contrary to its plain Words and Meaning.

Lastly, *Bellarmino*, *Baronius*, and the other *Demetrius's* for Images, have no where quoted any thing out of any of the Writings of the Ancient *Spanish Church*, tho' they are so numerous, in favour of the Use of Images in Worship; which considering their Zeal
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in that Cause, and their great Diligence to serve it with all the Colours they could possibly scrape together, is a Demonstration, that there is not any thing in those Writings that can give the least Countenance to that Practice.

And as the *Spanish* Church continued thus unspotted with Images, until she was dispersed by the *Moors* in the beginning of the Eighth Century. So during all that, and a good part of the Ninth Century, the *Gallick* Church, a great part of which had belonged to *Spain*, did discover a vehement Aversion to the Adoration of Images; witness the Councils of *Frankfort* and *Paris*, which condemn that Doctrine, and the second Council of *Nice* for having established it; as also that outrageous Reflection which is made by *Baronius* in the Year 794, on the *Gallick* Clergy, for that their Aversion to the Adoration of Images: which Reflection I shall here set down in that angry Cardinal's own Words.

Mirandum plane atque dolendum est, præclariores hujus Seculi, ejus provinciæ, viros, nominatim superius recensitos, sub duobus Imperatoribus Carolo, & Ludovico, adeo contentiosè, & animo penitus refractario, pertinaci studio, indefesso conatu, inflexibili proposito voluntatis, adversus Adorationem sanctarum Imaginum, contra Septimam Synodum, obstrepuisse, clamasse, & (pace eorum dixerim) insaniisse.

ut nihil reveriti Oecumenicæ Synodi Majestatem, neque tot pro ea pugnantium Romanorum Pontificum potestatem.

It is truly to be admired and lamented, saith Baronius, that the most Eminent Men of this Age in that Province, (that is the French Empire) and especially the fore-mentioned, under the Two Emperors Charles and Lewis, did so Contentiously, and with a Mind altogether so Refractory, and with a pertinacious Earnestness, indefatigable Endeavours, and with an inflexible purpose of Will, make a Noise, Bawl, and by their Leave, rave against the Adoration of Holy Images; and the Seventh Synod reverencing as nothing the Majesty of an Oecumenical Council, and the Authority of so many Roman Pontiffs contending for it.

Was Demetrius himself in a greater Rage against St. Paul for Preaching against the Adoring of Images, than Baronius when he writ this, was in against the French Church, for having so zealously opposed the introducing of their Adoration into the Christian Worship? Here by the Way, we plainly see, how little Respect the French Church in the Eight and Ninth Centuries did pay to the Bishop of Rome's Authority, whether it were in, or out of a Council. That great Church, as Baronius acknowledgeth, having long strenuously opposed the Introduction of the Adoration of Images; and that in Defiance of several Popes, though they were all armed

ed with the Authority of the Second Council of *Nice*, which had decreed that Adoration to be lawful.

I shall conclude this Point with a true and judicious Observation made by a Council assembled at *Constantinople*, in the Reign of the Emperour *Leo Isaurus*, which was, That Satan by introducing Images into the Christian Worship, ἐν πορχήματι χεισπανισμῷ τὴν εἰδῶλολατρείαν κατὰ τὴν ἀληθῆς ἐπανάγαγε, did silyly introduce Idolatry into the World again in a Christian Dress; and with that Confession which was, by the Strength of Truth, drawn from the Pen of *Gregorius Gyraldus*, a Roman Catholick Writer in the last Age, who having said in the First Book of his *Syntagma Historiæ Deorum*, That it was safer to mutter than to speak out against Images, he adds, *Il-lud certe non prætermittam, nos, dico Christia-nos, ut aliquando Romanos, fuisse sine Imagi-nibus in Primitiva quæ vocatur Ecclesia: How-ever, this I will not forbear to say, that we, I mean Christians, were as the Romans for some time without Images in the Church, which is called Primitive: Which true Observation, the Index Expurgatorius commands to be expunged; and it is so, in the Book which I have by me, tho' not so much, but that I made a shift to read it.*

Of Praying to Angels and Saints.

Creature Worship, being a plain departure from the Three chief and distinguishing Principles of that Holy Religion which God has revealed to the World; which are, *That there is but One God: That that God only is to be worshipped, and That God is to be worshipped as a pure and eternal Mind or Spirit, and not by Images, and bodily Representations;* Christians relapsing into Creature Worship, is for that Reason called in the Scriptures, *The falling away, or the great Apostacy.*

But when, or wheresoever that great Apostacy from the true revealed Worship began, there was no Disposition in the *Spanish Church* to it, until after the Time of her Dispersion by the *Moors*. For as there is not one Syllable in any of her Writings of *Praying to Saints or Angels*, so there are in them such Occasions for her to have mention'd it, that she could not but have done it, if she had had the least Disposition to it; for in her Councils there are above twenty Canons which do speak of her Liturgy, and of the Days whereon her Liturgy was to be read, and of the whole Form of her publick Worship, and all this without a Syllable of *Praying to Saints or Angels*; neither is there any mention of it in her Thanksgiving. And St.

Isidore

Isidore Bishop of *Sevil*, though he has in his Book of *Sentences* one long Chapter concerning *Prayer*, and another concerning the *Saints*, yet there is not in either of them, the least mention of its being lawful to pray to them. Neither is there any Testimony produced by the Champions of that Doctrine, out of any of those Ancient Writings, save only out of *Prudentius*, a Poet in the Fifth Century, who in his Poems, instead of invoking the Muses after the Example of the Heathen Poets, invoked Saints; a sorry Authority to prove that the Church, that Poet belonged to, did worship them: Not but that the License which was taken by some Christian Poets, and Orators to adorn their Productions with the Figures, which were reckoned the great Ornaments of the Heathen Poetry and Oratory, did contribute something towards the introducing of Creature Worship into the Christian Church; not that *Prudentius's* Poetical License had any such Effect on the Ancient *Spanish* Church, or on any of her other Writers.

It is true, in the present *Mozarabick* Liturgy, some Saints are prayed to; but *St. James* being the only Apostle that is named in that Prayer, does plainly shew, that it must have been foisted into that Ancient Liturgy, many Years after the *Spanish* Church was dispersed by the *Moors*; for as no Reason can be given for *St. James*, and none of the rest of the Apostles

being named in that Prayer; but only that of the *Spaniards* having believed St. *James* at that Time to be their particular Patron or Tutelary Saint: So, most certain it is, that it was above Two Hundred Years after the *Moorish* Conquest, before the Legend of St. *James* of *Compostella* was ever so much as dreamt of in *Spain*, or any where else; And so in the Commemoration in that Liturgy, which in the Main is Genuine, the rest of the Apostles are named as well as St. *James*, and Nine of them before him.

And as the Papal Champions that are not *Spaniards*, are no Friends to that Story of St. *James*, so for that Reason, that Prayer is not quoted by *Bellarmino*, nor by any of them, as a Proof of the Antiquity of Praying to Saints: and which it would be, if that Prayer were Genuine, beyond any that they have been able to produce.

I shall conclude this Point with an Observation made by *Peresius*, a learned *Spanish* Bishop, who lived since the Reformation, in the Third Part of his Book *De Divinis Traditionibus*, where he saith,

Ante Cornelium Martyrem, nulla exstat mentio, quod ego viderem, Invocationis & Intercessionis Sanctorum: in causa forte fuit modestia & humilitas Apostolorum; quid enim dicerent qui eos hæc dicentes audirent, nisi quod de se magna persumerent, & se quasi Deos facerent; cum ergo toti intenti essent prædicationi,

& divulgationi Evangelii, & aliarum rerum quæ magis ad Substantiam Salutis attinebant, & captum etiam hominum excedebant, expectabant circa hæc opertam Dei voluntatem.

Before Cornelius the Martyr, there is no mention that I have seen of the Invocation and Intercession of Saints ; and the Cause of that, perhaps, was, the Modesty and Humility of the Apostles ; for what would they that heard them teach such things have said, but that they presumed great things of themselves, and did as it were make themselves Gods : but they being wholly intent on the Preaching, and on the Promulgation of the Gospel, and of other things which belonged more to the Substance of Salvation, and did also exceed Mens Capacities, did wait for the opening of God's Will about that.

After this honest Confession, *Peregrinus* would have done well, if he had told us, when he first met with any Mention of the Invocation and Intercession of Saints in any of the Writings of his own Church : And when, and to whom, after *Cornelius's* Martyrdom, there was an Opening of God's Will, declaring it, to be lawful for Christians to pray to Saints.

Of Purgatory.

THAT the Ancient *Spanish* Church knew nothing of that Place in the next World, which the *Roman* Church now calls Purgatory, is plain from that Place being no where mentioned in any of her Writings; and which it could not but have been, if she had believed it: And from the Commemoration in her Liturgy it is very plain, That she knew nothing of any such Place as the Popish Purgatory; but did believe, That the Spirits of all that died in a State of Grace and Salvation, did immediately, after they left their Bodies, enter into a State of Rest and Ease from all their Labours, tho' not of perfect Bliss until after the Resurrection; and which Souls are therefore in that Commemoration said to be *Pausantes*, or at Rest in the Lord; and among which are commemorated by Name, *St. Athanasius*, *St. Hilary*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Austin*, with Forty Eight more, of whose Sanctity they had the highest Opinion, and of whose Salvation they had the greatest Assurance, without a single Bishop of *Rome* among them, and without a Syllable of any Offering for Souls; which tho' they were to go to Heaven at last, were at present in a Place of inexpressible Torments, which is the Case of the Souls said to be in the Popish Purgatory.

I will

I will not say that this Church's Offering as she doth in this Commemoration for the Spirits of Just Men and Women departed this Life, was not a sort of praying for the Dead, but which was plainly as different from that which is now practised in the *Roman* Church, as praying that People that are at Ease and Rest from all Pain and Trouble, may still have more Glories communicated to them; is different from praying that People that are in inexpressible Torments, may have Ease and Rest given them. For in truth those ancient Oblations for the Deceased that were believed to have died in the Lord, did amount to no more than that which we do make for them in the Prayer for the Order of the Burial of the Dead, in which we beseech God, That he would be pleased of his gracious Goodness, shortly to accomplish the Number of his Elect, and to hasten his Kingdom to the perfecting of the everlasting Bliss of all that have died in his Favour.

By the Way, I cannot but take Notice here, that among the Priests that do offer Oblations, the Pope of *Rome* is named in this Commemoration; but as he is named in it, after all this Church's own Priests, so all other Priests are joyn'd with him in it: And after all, I do strongly suspect that this was foisted into this Commemoration, about the Time when St. *James's* Name was particularly

ly foisted into the fore-said Prayer in the same Liturgy.

Neither is there one Word of Purgatory in the Books of *St. Isidore* Bishop of *Sevil*, tho' he has a whole Chapter upon Hell, and another on the Glory of the Saints : Neither have the Champions of that Fairy Country, been able to produce the least Testimony for it out of any of those Writings.

I shall conclude this Point with *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter's* Confession concerning its late Discovery, in his Eighteenth Article against *Luther* ; where he saith, *Nemo certe jam dubitat Orthodoxus, an Purgatorium sit, de quo tamen apud priscos illos, nulla vel quam rarissima fiebat mentio ; & Græcis ad hunc usque diem non est creditum Purgatorium.* None, saith *Fisher*, that is *Orthodox* doubts now, of there being such a Place as Purgatory : And yet among those Ancients it is never, or but seldom mentioned ; neither is Purgatory to this Day believed by the Greeks.

Of the Doctrine of the Seven Sacraments.

THAT Christ only had Power to Institute true and proper Sacraments in his Church, and that he did institute Two in it,
to

to wit, *Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord*, is acknowledged by all, Papists as well as Protestants; and for that Reason, the *Roman Church*, bold tho' she is, does not pretend, That *Confirmation, Extream Unction, Order, Matrimony, and Penitence*, are made Sacraments by her; but she will, tho' she has neither Scripture nor Tradition for it, have them to have been all instituted Sacraments by Christ. And yet the first Christian Writer that *Bellarmino* was able to quote for this Number of the Sacraments, was *Peter Lombard*, who lived above Eleven Hundred Years after Christ's Ascension up into Heaven, and whose Knowledge both in the Scriptures and in Ecclesiastical Antiquities, was too small and superficial, to yield any Authority to this, or to any other Doctrine, that he that was the first spoke of: And for the Congruencies, the most wretched of all Proofs, which *Bellarmino* has devised to prove the Truth of this Number of Sacraments, should the Church of *Rome* instead of Seven, affirm that there are Seventy Sacraments, as many, and as good Congruencies, if not more, and better, might easily be devised to prove the Truth of that Number.

And that the Ancient *Spanish Church* knew nothing of this Doctrine of Seven Christian Sacraments, tho' the present *Roman Church* has made it a Matter of Faith, is manifest, from that Church's having no
where

where mentioned it in any of her Councils, tho' in them, she speaks much, and often of the Two true Christian Sacraments, *Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord*. And tho' she has several Canons concerning Order and Penitence, yet neither of them are any where called Sacraments by her; no, nor by *Isidore*, tho' he has several Chapters upon them.

Of Transubstantiation.

NOT to enter into the Labyrinth of Subtilties devised by the *Roman* Doctors, not to give any Light into the prodigious Change which this long and hard Word supposeth; but to bewilder themselves, and others in it: I will prove, first, That the ancient *Spanish* Church did believe the Substance of the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, to remain after they were Consecrated: which Transubstantiation denies. And in the second Place I will prove, That she did not believe Christ's Body to be in the Sacrament corporally, and as it was upon the Cross; which is affirmed by Transubstantiation.

The first may be demonstrated both from the Prayers in the Liturgy of that Ancient Church, and from the Canons of her Councils.

The

The Prayer in that ancient Liturgy after the Consecration on *Christmas-day* runs thus :

In Altare tuum Panis ac Vini holocausta proponimus, rogantes ut has Hostias Trinitas indivisa sanctificet : That is to say, *On thy Altar we offer the Sacrifices of Bread and Wine, beseeching that the undivided Trinity may sanctify these Sacrifices.*

Here the Elements of the Sacrament after they were Consecrated are expressly called *Bread and Wine* ; and the Bread and Wine are said to be the Sacrifices, in the Plural Number, which are offered upon the Altar.

And on *Easter-Day*, the Prayer after the Consecration in the same Liturgy runs :

Ut hic Panis cum hoc Calice in Filii tui Corpus & Sanguinem te benedicente ditescat : That is, *That this Bread with this Cup may, by thy Blessing, be enriched into the Body and Blood of thy Son.*

Here again the Substance of the Bread and Wine are plainly supposed to remain after the Consecration, and to be by God's Blessing so enrich'd, as to be Typically the Body and Blood of Christ, to all that receive them worthily : And we shall see presently the Consecrated Bread and Wine are upon their being blessed by God, called by this Church a Type of Christ.

So in the 55th Canon of the Second Council of *Braga*, it is said,

Non

Non oportet aliquid aliud in Sanctuario offerri, præter Panem, & Vinum, & Aquam, quæ in Typo Christi benedicuntur; quia dum in cruce penderet de Corpore ejus effluxit Sanguis & Aqua; hæc tria unum sunt in Christo Jesu, hæc Hostia & Oblatio Dei, in odorem suavitatis.

That is, " Nothing ought to be offered
 " in the Sanctuary but Bread, and Wine, and
 " Water; which being blessed, are a *Type* of
 " Christ: Because from his Body, whilst he
 " hanged on the Cross, Blood and Water did
 " flow; these Three are One in Christ Jesus,
 " and they are a Sacrifice and Oblation of
 " God of sweet Saviour.

Here it is expressly said, That the Bread, Wine, and Water are the Sacrifice and Oblation of God, and of sweet Saviour to him, and that being blessed by God they are a *Type* of Christ, and so not Christ himself.

Again, in the Second Canon of the Third Council of *Braga*, it is said,

Calix enim Dominicus, juxta quod quidam doctor edisserit, Vino & Aqua permixtus debet offerri: quia Videmus in Aqua populum intelligi; in Vino vero ostendi Sanguinem Christi; ergo quando in Calice vivo Aqua miscetur, Christo Populus adunatur; credentium plebs ei, in quem credit, copulatur, & jungitur; quæ copulatio & junctio Aquæ & Vini sic miscetur in Calice Domini, ut commixtio illa non possit separari; nam si Vinum tantum quis offerat,
 San-

Sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis; si vero Aqua sit sola, plebs incipit esse sine Christo; ergo quando botrum solum offertur, in quo tantum Vini efficiencia demonstratur, salutis nostræ Sacramentum negligitur quod per aquam significatur, non enim potest Calix Domini esse aqua sola, aut Vinum solum, nisi utrumque sibi misceatur.

‘ The Cup of the Lord, according to what
 ‘ a certain Doctor saith of it, must be offered
 ‘ with Wine mixed with Water, because
 ‘ in the Water we see the People are understood,
 ‘ and in the Wine the Blood of Christ
 ‘ is shewed, wherefore when in the Cup the
 ‘ Water is mixed with Wine, the People are
 ‘ united to Christ, and Believers are coupled
 ‘ and joyned with him in whom they believe;
 ‘ which Copulation and Conjunction of the
 ‘ Water and Wine, is mixed so in the Cup
 ‘ of the Lord, that that Mixture cannot be
 ‘ separated: For if any offer Wine only,
 ‘ Christ’s Blood begins to be without us, and
 ‘ if Water only the People begin to be without
 ‘ Christ; wherefore when a Bunch of
 ‘ Grapes, in which the efficiency of Wine
 ‘ only is demonstrated, is offered alone, the
 ‘ Sacrament of our Salvation is neglected;
 ‘ which is signified so by Water, that Water
 ‘ alone, nor Wine alone, if both be not mixed
 ‘ in it, cannot be the Cup of the Lord.

Can there be a clearer Evidence than this,
 of this Churches having believed the Substance

stance of Wine to have continued after it was Consecrated; and to be Wine also when it was offered; and that the Blood of Christ was *shewed*, or *signified* by the Consecrated Wine, no otherwise than as the People were *shewed* or *signified*, by the Consecrated Water, which it is certain was only typically, or as Things are shewed by their Signs or Sacraments.

Again in the Sixth Canon of the Sixteenth Council of *Toledo*, it is said:

Id unanimitalis nostræ delegit conventus, ut non aliter Panis in Altari Domini, Sacerdotali Benedictione Sanctificandus proponatur, nisi integer, & nitidus: Qui ex studio fuerit præparatus, neque grande aliquid, sed modica tantum oblata, Secundum quod Ecclesiastica Consuetudo retentat; cujus reliquæ aut ad conservandum modico loculo absque aliqua Injuria facilius conserventur, aut si ad consumendum fuerit necessarium, non Ventrem illius qui sumpserit gravis farciminis onere premat; neque quod in Digestionem vadat, sed Animam Alimonia Spirituali reficiat.

On this we that are convened have unanimously agreed, That Bread shall not be offered to the Altar to be Sanctified, by the Sacerdotal Benediction, otherwise than whole, and neat, and which has been studiously prepared; neither shall it be offered in a great quantity, but in a small only, according to what the Ecclesiastical Custom retains; whose Reliques, if they be pre-
served,

served, may without any Injury be kept in a small Box, or if it be necessary that it be consumed that it do not oppress the Belly, with the weight of a great Burden, nor be such as shall go into Digestion, but shall refresh his Soul with Spiritual Alimony.

This Council speaks of the offering of the same Bread, after it is consecrated to God, it had spoke of before being offered to the Altar, and provides against that Bread, being received in so great a quantity as to oppress the Stomach and Digestion of the Receiver of it, with its weight: Which would have been a very unnecessary Caution in this Council, if it had not believed the Substance of the Bread in the Sacrament to remain after it was consecrated, and received by the Communicants: No Stomach having ever been so weak, as to be over-charged with the weight of the great quantity of Accidents which it had taken.

Secondly that the Antient Spanish Church did not believe Christ's Body and Blood to be Really and Corporally in the Sacrament, is manifest from the Prayers which are used by that Church after the Consecration.

The following Prayer being used by her in the offering of the consecrated Bread.

Acceptabilis sit Majestati tuæ Omnipotens Deus, hæc Oblatio, quam tibi offerimus, pro Reatibus & Fascinoribus nostris, & pro stabilitate Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ Catholicæ. That is, Let this

Oblation which we offer to thee, be acceptable to thy Majesty, O Almighty God, for our Sins and Trespases, and for the stability of the Holy Catholick Church of God.

And the Prayer following, at the offering of the Consecrated Cup.

Offerimus tibi Domine Calicem Christi Filii tui, humiliter deprecantes Clementiam tuam, ut ante Conspectum Divine Majestatis tue cum odore suavitatis ascendat. That is, *We offer to thee, O Lord, the Cup of thy Son Christ, humbly supplicating thy Clemency, that it may ascend before the Countenance of thy Divine Majesty, with the odour of Sweetness,*

Must not they be wedded to a Cause for better and for worse, and have Vowed right or wrong never to part with it; that dare affirm, for I cannot conceive that they can think it, that any who humbly beseech God to accept of the Sacrifice which they offer, can believe that Sacrifice to be the Real Body and Blood of God's Eternal Son, the Man the Lord Christ Jesus; as if a Sacrifice of that infinite Dignity, should stand in need of the Prayers of Sinful Mortals, to move God to accept of it.

If it should be objected here, That in the present *Roman Missal*, there is, after the Consecration, a Prayer much to the same purpose; I answer, it is true there is; but it is as true that that Prayer was in that Antient Office, many Hundreds of Years before Transubstan-

tiation

tiation was ever dreamed of in the *Roman Church*; neither will any that know the Forehead of that Transubstantiation Church, at all wonder at her not having, since she received that Doctrine, lest that Prayer out of her *Missal*; seeing that rather than undergo the Reproach of having made such an Alteration in that Antient Office, she will by frivolous Distinctions, and false Pretences, set about reconciling Contradictions; and will by her Authority boldly bear down the World that they are reconciled.

And as in the Books of *St. Isidore Bishop of Sevil*, there is not any thing that makes for Transubstantiation; so tho' *Bellarmino* and the other *Roman Writers*, have spared for no Pains to press Antient Testimonies into the Service of that Doctrine, yet they have not been able to draw one out of any of her numerous Writings, tho' that Sacrament is so often spoke of in them.

I shall conclude this Point with the Confessions of Cardinal *Cajetan*, and of *Gabriel Biel*, two of the most Learned Schoolmen of the *Roman Church*.

Cajetan in 3 partem Thomæ. Quest. 75. Artic. 1. saith, Verba Domini, hoc est Corpus meum, intellecta sunt ab Ecclesia proprie; & propterea oportet illa verificari proprie: dico autem, ab Ecclesia, quoniam non apparet ex Evangelio, coactivum aliquod ad intelligendum hæc verba proprie. That is, 'The Words
C 2 of

‘ of the Lord, *This is my Body*, are by the Church
 ‘ understood properly; and for that Reason
 ‘ they must be properly verified; I say by
 ‘ the Church, because nothing appears in the
 ‘ Gospel, to force those Words to be proper-
 ‘ ly understood.

And *Biel* saith, *Ordinatio Transubstantiati-*
onis, fortasse, innotuit Ecclesiæ, longo tempore
post Sacramenti Institutionem: Ecclesia enim
determinavit istum intellectum Verborum Chri-
sti esse de veritate Fidei, in Symbolo edito sub
Innocentio Tertio in Concilio Lateranensi. That
 is, ‘ The Ordination of Transubstantiation did,
 ‘ perhaps, come to the Knowledge of the
 ‘ Church a long time after the Institution of
 ‘ that Sacrament: That meaning of the
 ‘ Words of Christ having been determin’d by
 ‘ the Church to be of the Verity of Faith,
 ‘ in the Creed set forth by *Innocent* the
 ‘ Third.

Transubstantiation has the same Date given
 it by *Scotus*.

Now, as this Council of *Lateran* was not
 held till after the Year 1200, which was a
 long time indeed after the Institution of the
 Sacrament; so it was held in an Age in which
 the *Latin* Church was Unlearned and Igno-
 rant both in the Scriptures, and in all Eccle-
 siastical Antiquities beyond Belief; and is it
 much for the Credit of a new Light in the
 Interpretation of a Text of Scripture, that it
 first appeared in so dark an Age, and so ma-
 ny

ny Hundreds of Years after the Apostles Days.

I cannot but observe here, that after so many Thousands of Men and Women have been destroyed, because they would not profess, that they believed Transubstantiation, that there is scarce a Popish Writer that does not deny it, in flatly denying the Substance of the Bread in the Sacrament to be, by Consecration, turned into the Substance of Christ's Body, and the Substance of the Wine to be turned into the Substance of Christ's Blood. For as the very Word *Transubstantiation* plainly imports that Change; so it was plainly the meaning of the *Roman Church*, when she gave that Name to it: And which is confirmed by the Council of *Trent*, which saith expressly, That the whole Substance of the Bread is turned into the Substance of the Body of Christ our Lord; and the whole Substance of the Wine into the Substance of his Blood; and which Conversion is by the Church conveniently and properly called *Transubstantiation*.

Now can any Thing be too difficult for Almighty Distinctions to do, after they have reconciled the flat Denial of all this, with the Belief of every Thing small and great that the *Roman Church* Teacheth.

But the Thing that puts the Antient *Spanish Church's* not having believed *Transubstantiation* out of doubt, is, that Church,

until 150 Years after she was dispersed by the *Moors*, having every where Consecrated the Sacrament with the Words of St. *Paul*, in the 11th Chapter of his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*; in which Words, the *Elements* after they are Consecrated, are expressly called *Bread and the Cup*; with which Form of Consecration, Pope *John* the Sixth having been for that Reason much offended, he sent a Legate into *Spain* on purpose to have that Form changed for the *Roman*: To which Change in their Liturgy, the *Spaniards*, who were in a Corner under a King of their own Nation, did agree, by reason of their standing at that time in too much need of the Bishop of *Rome's* Assistance in their Wars with the *Moors*, to deny him any Thing that he desired of them. But as this was not the Case of the *Spanish* Christians, who were mixed with the *Moors*, and lived under their Dominion, and from whom the Antient *Gothick* Liturgy was called the *Mozarabick*; so it is not at all likely, that that Change of the Form of Consecration was made in any of their Books: For as no Papal Legate durst venture to go among them, about that, or any other Business, there being no Sect that fights the Papists at their own Weapons so much as the *Mahometans*, so long after that Change was first made among the unmixt *Spaniards*, there was never any People more averse to any Thing, than the *Moz-Arab* Christians

Christians were to change their Antient Liturgy for the *Roman*.

In the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, the *Mozarabick* Liturgy was printed by the Cardinal *Zimenez*; but as we are certain of that Cardinal's having made some Alterations in it, so there is great Cause to suspect him of having made more, and that among the rest, he might change the forementioned Form of Consecration, for the *Roman*. And the Thing that makes this more probable, is, The Copy which he had of the *Mozarabick* Liturgy being destroyed, and with it all the rest, if there were any more at that time: There not being, that I can hear of, after much Enquiry, a Manuscript Copy of the *Mozarabick* Liturgy any where to be met with.

Of denying the Cup in the Sacrament to the People.

IF the Authority of the Scriptures, and the constant Usage of the Primitive Catholick Church, could have secured a Doctrine, and its Practice from being laid aside, the Cup in the Sacrament had never been taken from the People; which the *Roman* Church did, *Cavalleromain*, and with an express *non obstanti*, to that Authority.

And that the Antient *Spanish* Church was an utter stranger to this great and bold Sacrilege, appears plainly from her Canons, which do all suppose the Cup in the Sacrament, no less than the Bread, to be administered to all the Communicants; and, according to her, the People have a greater Concern in the Cup than in the Bread; the Union betwixt Christ and the People, being, as she saith, represented by the mixture of the Water with the Wine in the Cup; the Water, according to her, signifying the People, as the Wine signifies Christ.

But that this was the Practice, not only of the *Spanish*, but of the whole *Catholick* Church until the beginning of the Twelfth Century, is not only acknowledged by Cardinal *Bona*, but is vehemently affirmed by him in the Eighteenth Chapter of his Second Book of Liturgies; his Words are,

Semper enim, & ubique, ab Ecclesiæ primordiis, usque ad seculum duodecesimum, sub specie Panis & Vini in Ecclesiis Communicarunt Fideles : cæpitque paulatim ejus seculi initio usus Calicis abolescere ; plerisque Episcopis eum Populo interdicientibus, & sic paulatim introducta est Communio sub sola specie Panis : quod a nullo negari potest qui vel levissima rerum Ecclesiasticarum notitia imbutus est. That is to say,

‘ Always and every where, from the beginning of the Church until the Twelfth Century, the Faithful communicated in the

‘ Churches

Churches under the *Species of Bread and Wine*; but in the beginning of that Age, the Use of the Cup did begin to wear out by little and little; many Bishops having denied it to the People: And so the Communion under the Species of Bread alone was introduced by degrees: which cannot be deny'd by any that have the least Knowledge of Ecclesiastical Matters.

Note, The Date given here by *Bona* to this Practice, falls in with that which is given by *Scotus* and *Biel* to Transubstantiation; of whose Belief, with the Leaven of Pride in it, this Sacrilege was a plain Consequence.

Of Private Masses.

THE very Word *Mass*, which was taken from the Priest's dismissing the Congregation, after they had communicated, with saying to them, *Ite Missa est*, is a flat Contradiction to the Superstition of *private Masses*: As is also the present *Roman Mass* it self, which does all through suppose a Congregation present when it is celebrated: That Office being many Ages older, as I have hinted before, than the Doctrine of Transubstantiation. And accordingly it calls upon the Congregation which it supposeth to be present at it, *To lift up their Hearts, and to pray,*

pray, and to give thanks unto the Lord; and says to them, *The Lord be with you*: And as it is the same in the Ancient Spanish Liturgy, so that Church never speaks of Celebration of the Sacrament, but she supposeth it still to be in a Congregation.

And as this, and most of the Corruptions of the Roman Churches Worship had their Rise in Monasteries; so when this Corruption came first to be observed in them, by the Gallick Church, which was the same with the Ancient Spanish; she did in the following Decree of a Council held at Nantz, not only prohibit private Masses, but did expose them, either as an Impiety, or a ridiculous Superstition.

Definivit Sanctum Consilium, ut nullus Presbyter solus præsumat Missam celebrari: Cui etenim dicit, Dominus vobiscum, Sursum Corda; aut Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro; cum nullus sit qui respondeat? Aut in Canone, & Omnium Circumstantium, cum nemo adsit? Aut quem invitat ad Orationem cum dicit, Oremus, cum nullus sit qui Secum oret? Aut ista, penitus reticenda sunt, & non solum non erit perfectum Sacrificium, verum etiam incurret, quisquis est ille, illam terribilem Sententiam. Si quis tulerit de hoc, tollat Deus partem ejus de Libro Vitæ, aut si hæc Muris & Parietibus insussurravit, Ridiculosum erit. Quapropter, illa periculosa Superstitio maxime a Monasteriis Monachorum exterminanda est: Provideant au-

tem Prælati ut Presbyteri in Cœnobiis, & in aliis Ecclesiis, Cooperatores habeant, in celebratione Missarum; Si quis hæc transgressus fuerit ab Officio suspendatur. That is, 'This

' Holy Council defines, that no Presbyter
' do presume to celebrate the Mass alone;
' for to whom will he say, *the Lord be with*
' *you, and lift up your Hearts, and let us re-*
' *turn Thanks to our Lord God,* when there
' are none to answer? Or in the Canon;
' how can he say, *of all the by-standers,*
' when no Body is present? Or whom doth
' he invite to Prayer when he saith, *Let us*
' *pray,* when there are none to pray with
' him? These Words must therefore either be
' omitted, and then the Sacrifice is not only
' imperfect, but he that omits them, who-
' ever he is, shall incur that terrible Sen-
' tence. *If any take away from this, the*
' *Lord will take his part out of the Book of*
' *Life,* or if they be muttered to the Walls,
' and Building, they are then ridiculous.
' That dangerous Superstition, and especial-
' ly in the Monasteries of Monks, ought
' therefore to be exterminated: And the Pre-
' lates must take care that the Presbyters in
' Monasteries, and in other Churches have
' Cooperators in the Celebration of Masses;
' and if any shall transgress these, let them
' be suspended from their Office.

They that are not fully satisfied, that the
Roman Church will do any thing rather than
re-

reform her Worship, by giving over any Practice in it, and especially if it be profitable to her, tho' in its Rise it was condemned by an Ancient Council, as either an Impiety, or a ridiculous Superstition, let them but cast their Eyes on the senseless Pretences, which are made use of by the *Roman* Doctors, to reconcile a Priest saying an Office all alone, which is still calling on a Congregation as present, *to pray, to lift up their Hearts to God, &c.*

I said, especially if such a Practice be profitable, because private Masses bring in a Revenue, which alone maintains many Thousands of Priests, Monks, and Fryars; the *Roman* Clergy's vast Numbers in all Places being owing chiefly to this single Superstition.

For besides that such Masses are the chief Funds of Monasteries and Convents, to which Bodies great Sums of Money are given to have Masses said daily on their Altars, for one Soul or another in Purgatory: and in which Negotiations strange Arts are practised. There are many Thousands of Priests in the *Roman* Church, who having no Cure of Souls, nor no People to Administer the Sacrament to, do in Cities and great Towns subsist wholly on the saying of a Mass every Day, if they are so lucky as to meet with an Opportunity; and whose common Price is about six Pence.

Of the Adoration of the Sacrament.

THE Ancient *Spanish* Church, tho' she has a great deal in her Canons concerning the preparing of the *Bread and Wine*, which are to be consecrated, and concerning them after their Consecration, has not one Syllable any where about the Adoring or Worshipping of them ; neither is there any thing in her Ancient Liturgy that looks that way : and could any thing, but his great Unwillingness to acknowledge that, in which the main of the *Roman* Worship consists, to be a new and lately devised Practice : have kept Cardinal *Bona* from saying any thing of the *Adoration of the Host*, in a Book in which he treats particularly of all the Usages belonging to it, and of which, in the Church of *Rome*, that of its Adoration is infinitely the most considerable. But that Cardinal was not so much upon the reserve, as to the Elevation of the Host, tho' in the Church of *Rome* that is done in order to its being worshipped by the Congregation ; his Words concerning the Elevation being,

Non enim liquet quæ prima origo fuerit in Ecclesia Latina Elevandi sacra Mysteria statim ac consecrata sunt : in Antiquis enim Sacramentorum libris, & in codicibus Ordinis Romani, tam Excusis quam Manuscriptis : nec in priscis
 Ri-

Rituum Expositoribus, Alcuino, Almario, Walfrido, Micrologo, & aliis, aliquod ejus vestigium reperitur. That is, ' It is not clear which ' was the first Origin in the Latin Church ' of the *Elevation* of the sacred Mysteries, ' presently after they are consecrated; for in ' the ancient Books of the *Sacraments*, and ' in the Books of the *Roman Order*, as well ' Printed as Manuscript; and in the Ancient ' *Expositors* of *Rites*, *Alcuine*, *Almarinus*, *Walfridus*, *Micrologus*, and others, no Footstep ' of it is to be met with. And could the Host be worshipped by the Congregation, before it was elevated and shewed to them by the Priest?

*Of the Priests putting the Bread
of the Sacrament into the Peoples Mouths.*

THAT this was not the Custom of the Ancient *Spanish* Church, appears plainly from her Canons; which do all speak of the Sacramental Bread being given by the Priests into the Hands of the Communicants: Witness the Fourteenth Canon of the first Council of *Toledo*, which is as followeth: *Si quis accepta a Sacerdote Eucharistia non sumpserit velut Sacrilegus propellatur.* " If
" any

“ any one does not receive the Sacrament,
 “ which is taken from the Priests Hands, let
 “ him be cast out of the Church as a Sacri-
 “ legious Person.

And this way of Communicating did last till the Twelfth Century, when it, and all the other Ancient Sacramental Rites were abolished by the Coming of Transubstantiation, as inconvenient in Practice, where that Doctrine was believed: And that this was universally the ancient Way of Communicating, is acknowledged by Cardinal Bona, in the Seventeenth Chapter of his Second Book of Liturgies; his Words are,

Sacra Communio, antiquo Ritu, non ore excipere solebat, sed manu. That is, ‘ The Holy Communion by the old Rite, was not received with the Mouth, but with the Hand.

Of being present at Mass, and not Communicating.

THIS, which is the daily and universal Practice in the Roman Church, and is, with the Adoration of the Host, almost the whole of her Peoples Worship; was so detested by the Ancient Spanish Church, that she would accept of no Offerings from any that were guilty of it; nor wou’d she suffer them

them to be in her Communion any otherwise than as Penitents : So in the Twenty Eighth Canon of the Council of *Eliberis*, she saith,

Episcopus placuit ab eo qui non communicat, munera accipere non debere : That is, ' It is ' the Will of the Bishops, that Offerings ' ought not to be received from him that ' does not communicate.

And in the Thirteenth Canon of the First Council of *Toledo*, it is said,

De his qui intrant in Ecclesiam, & deprehenduntur nunquam communicare, admoneantur, ut si non communicant ad Penitentiam accedant ; si communicant non super abstineantur ; si non fecerint abstineantur. That is, ' Let those that ' enter the Church and do never communi- ' cate, be admonished, that if they do not ' communicate they must be as Penitents ; ' if they do thereupon communicate, they ' shall not be any longer separated : but shall, ' if they do not communicate.

I have translated this Canon, whose Words are something perplexed, by the Light which the Second Canon of the Council of *Antioch* gives to it ; and from which I believe it might be taken : which Canon commands all to be kept out of the Church who have been present at the Celebration of the Sacrament, and have not communicated : And that in the Seventh Century it was the Custom in the *Spanish* Church, That all that did not communicate did go out of the Church, before the

the Communion began ; is manifest from the following Eighteenth Canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo :

Nonnulli Sacerdotes post dictam Orationem Dominicam statim Communicant, & postea benedictionem in populo dant, quod deinceps interdiximus, sed post Orationem Dominicam, & conjunctionem Panis & Calicis, benedictio in Populum sequatur. That is, ' Some Priests having said the Lord's Prayer, do communicate presently, and afterwards give the Benediction to the People : which we do forbid to be done hereafter ; but the Blessing shall be given to the People, after the Lord's Prayer, and the Conjunction of the Bread and the Cup.

The Priests Blessing was then given to the People, because they that did not intend to communicate, were to go out of the Church before the Communion began.

And that this was likewise the Usage of the Gallick Church in the Sixth Century, is acknowledged by Cardinal Bona in the Sixteenth Chapter of his Second Book of *Liturgies* :

Idem sancitum fuit in Concilio III. Aurelianiensi, Can. 28. De Missis nullus laicorum ante discedat quam Dominica dicatur Oratio : & si Episcopus præsens fuerit ejus benedictio expectetur. Ubi vides præceptum Concilii ad illos primitus dirigi qui nondum recitata Dominica Oratione ab Ecclesia egrediebantur : tuum sub-
D dir

dit, quod si Episcopus præsens fuerit, iphus benedictio quæ post prædictam Orationem dari consueverat expectetur. Sed dices, ergo licitum erat ante Communionem discedere Missa nondum peracta. Ita plane si mores attendantur illius ævi, quo omnes qui aderant Missæ, Communicabant ; quicunque enim aut non poterant aut nolabant Mysteriorum esse participes absoluto Canone, priusquam Oratio Dominica recitaretur, ab Ecclesia discedebant, quia quod reliquum erat ad Communionem pertinebat. That is, ' The same was establish'd in the Third Council of Orleans, Canon 8. None of the Laity shall go from Mass before the Lord's Prayer is said, and if the Bishop be present, they shall stay to have his Blessing : Where you see the Precept of the Council is primarily directed to those who did use to go out of Church before the Lord's Prayer was said ; and it then subjoyns, That if the Bishop be present, whose Blessing did use to be given after that Prayer, that they should stay to have it. But you will say, it was lawful therefore to depart before the Communion, Mass being not yet ended. It was certainly, according to the Usages of that Age, in which all that were present at Mass, did communicate ; and whoever could not, or would not be Partakers of the Mysteries, did when the Canon was ended, and before the Lord's Prayer was said, go out of Church before cause

cause that that was behind belonged to the Communion.

How contrary to all this is the Practice of the present *Roman Church*, the whole of whose Worship consists almost in Peoples going to Mass, and being present at the Consecration, and the whole Office of the Sacrament, and Worshipping the Host, without Communicating: For in Countries where Popery has its free Exercise, the People do hear, or rather see, an Hundred whole Masses, without communicating; for one that they do communicate at.

Can any observe this great Change, which has been made in the Sacramental Rites in the *Roman Church*, since the Eleventh Century; and not look on that Change as a strong Evidence of Transubstantiation, having about the same time crept into that Church: and not see likewise, that the Reason why those Ancient Rites were laid aside, was because they were judged not to be proper and convenient for that Doctrine, and which would of Course have been changed sooner, if that Doctrine had been earlier devised, and see farther, how the Time when this great Change in the Sacramental Rites was made, does fall in with the Time when Transubstantiation is by *Scotus*, *Biel*, and other Popish Writers said to have been first declared a Matter of Faith, and which that Doctrine, if it had been true, must always

have been from the Beginning; and have had, both from Heathens and Hereticks, loud Testimonies of its being believed by Christians; and whose profound Silence concerning it, is a strong Presumption of its never having been thought of in the first Ages of the Christian Church.

Note, That *Bona*, whom I have so often quoted here, was a *Bernardine* Monk, and was created a Cardinal by Pope *Clement* the Ninth; his Book of Liturgies was first published by him in the Year 1670, and by another of his Books, I find he was living in the Year 1672: In all his Works he appears to have been so bigoted a Papist, that nothing but the mighty Power of Truth, meeting in him with an Unwillingness to forfeit the just Reputation which he had, of his being the most able Ecclesiastical Antiquary of his Age; could ever have drawn from his Pen, so many Confessions to the Prejudice of the present *Roman* Worship; and by which that Worship, as to the Main, is in truth made the Creature of late, ignorant and superstitious Ages, for such the Twelfth and Thirteenth are acknowledged by all to have been, as to all sorts of Learning, but chiefly as to the Scriptures, and all Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and the Truth is the Justifying of the Blunders committed in those Ages, both in Faith and Worship, by Distinctions which have all their Strength from their being hard to be
un-

understood, has been the Work of the *Roman* Schoolmen ever since the first Rise of that knotty sort of Learning.

Of Auricular Confession.

ALL Christians being obliged upon Pain of Damnation, to confess all their mortal Sins to a Priest, is a Doctrine that was not known to the Ancient *Spanish* Church; for if it had, she could not but have spoke often of it, in her Canons concerning Penitents, which are above Twenty in Number: and in which she speaks minutely of every thing which she thought did belong to that necessary Duty, without a Syllable of Peoples confessing their Sins to a Priest. And St. *Isidore* Bishop of *Sevil*: tho' he has a long Chapter under the Title of *Confession of Sins, and of Penitents*, has not a Word in it, nor no where else of Peoples confessing their Sins to a Priest: Neither is there any thing quoted out of the Writings of that Ancient Church by the *Roman* Doctors, to prove the Antiquity of *Auricular Confession*; and which is acknowledged by *Alexander Hales*, *Bonaventure*, and other Ancient School-men, to be not of Divine Institution; neither is it to this Day in any other Christian Church, so

as it is in the *Roman*; and in the *Roman* it self it is not of long standing.

It is, I think, very plain, That the Ancient *Spanish* Church, and the present Church of *England* do agree, in not having in them any of the fore-mentioned Errors and Corruptions; and that there is an Harmony betwixt them in all the positive Substantials of Faith and Worship is as manifest, they have both the same Canon of Scripture, the same Creed, to wit, the *Nicene*; the same general Councils, to wit, the *Nicene*, *Constantinopolitan*, *Ephesian*, and *Chalcedonian*; and the same Thoughts of the Authority of such Assemblies. In a Word, there is not one positive Article of Religion in the Articles of the Church of *England*, which may not, I believe, be proved to have been the Doctrine of that Ancient Orthodox Church.

And since it does not follow, from its having been shewn in a former *Tract*, That the Bishop of *Rome* had no Supremacy, nor any Authority in that Ancient Church; that the *Spanish* Kings must therefore have had an Ecclesiastical Supremacy over her; I shall here, to satisfy all, Papists, as well as others, that are no Friends to such a Supremacy, demonstrate, the *Spanish* Kings to have had it, in as great, if not a greater Extent, than the Church of *England* allows it to be in the *English* Crown,

First, It is plain, that the *Spanish* Councils which did treat about, and determine both Matters of Faith, and Matters of Discipline, were all assembled by the King's Command; and that all the Bishops in those numerous Councils, did not only allow of that Royal Ecclesiastical Supremacy, but did rejoyce in it, and thank God for it. All this is evident from *the Relation of Thanks*, which are at the End of most of those Councils; Three of which, out of many, I shall here set down.

The First is that, which is at the End of the Eleventh Council of *Toledo*, and stands in it, as its last Decree, as they all do at the End of their several Councils.

XVI. De Relatione Gratiarum pro Consummatione Consilii.

Of a Relation of Thanks for the Consummation of the Council.

In which after having Praised G O D for it, they subjoyn as followeth :

POST hæc, Religioso Domino & Amabili Principi nostro Wambano Regi, Gratiarum actiones persolvimus; cujus Ordinatione collecti, cujus etiam studio aggregati sumus; qui Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ his nostris Seculis

novus reparator occurrens, omisso Consiliorum ordines non solum restaurare intendit, sed etiam annuis recursibus celebrandos instituit; ut ad alternam morum correctionem annuo tempore alacriter concurrentes, juxta Prophetæ vaticinium, quod in nobis descriptum est alligetur & quod abjectum est reducatur. Det ergo eidem Principi Dominus pro hujus sacræ sollicitudinis voto, & cursum præsentis vitæ in pace transigere, & post diutina tempora ad se in pace remissis iniquitatibus pervenire.

AFTER these, to our Religious Lord and Amicable Prince *Wambo*, we do pay the Actions of Thanks, by whose Ordination we are assembled together, and were likewise by his Endeavours aggregated: And who being the new Repairer of Ecclesiastical Discipline in these our Ages, does intend not only to restore the neglected Orders of Councils, but does appoint them to be celebrated Yearly; that meeting together so for the mutual Correction of Manners, we may, according to the Words of the Prophet, as much as in us lies, *Bind that which is broken, and reduce that which is thrown out.* May the Lord therefore give to the said Prince for this his Sacred Solitude, to pass the Course of this Life in Peace, and after many Years, his Sins being forgiven him, to take him to himself in Peace.

At

At the End of the Twelfth Council of Toledo, is the following *Relation of Thanks*, where after having praised GOD, it is added,

Cujus sanctæ Trinitatis possumus inenarrabile nomen, & gloriosam ineffabilis potentiae Majestatem, ut det amatori Christi Serenissimo Domino nostro, atque amantissimo Ervigio Principi, cujus jussu ad hunc meruimus advocari conventum imperare clementer, regnare feliciter, &c. ‘ Whose holy Trinity’s ineffable Name, ‘ and glorious Majesty of ineffable Power, ‘ we beseech to grant to the Lover of Christ, ‘ our most Serene Lord, and most Holy ‘ Prince *Ervigius*, by whose Command we were ‘ worthy of being called to this Assembly, to ‘ command with Clemency, to reign happily, &c.

At the End of the Thirteenth Council of Toledo, is the following *Relation of Thanks*.

Cujus gloriæ Immensitatem exposcimus ut glorioso Principi nostro Ervigio Regi sub cujus pace pax servator Ecclesiæ, florentis regni diuturnitate temporis spatia præbeat.

‘ The Immensity of whose Glory we beseech to grant to our glorious Prince, King ‘ *Ervigius*, under whose Peace the Peace of ‘ the Church is preserved, a long and flourishing Reign

The Councils of the Ancient Spanish Church, were not only called by their Kings, but they were likewise confirm’d by their Subscriptions and Edicts; so the Third Council of

of *Toledo*, in which the *Arian Heresie* was condemned, and the *Orthodox Faith* restored, is confirm'd by the following Subscription of King *Reccaredus*,

Flavius Reccaredus Rex, hanc Deliberationem quam cum sancta definivimus Synodo confirmans, Subscripsi. ' I King *Flavius Reccaredus*, confirming this *Deliberation* which we have defined with the *Holy Synod*, do subscribe to it.

The same Council is farther confirmed by the following Edict of the same King.

Incipit Edictum Regis in Confirmatione Consilii.

Gloriosissimus & Piissimus Dominus Reccaredus Rex.

UNIVERSORUM sub regni nostri potestate consistentium amatores nos suos divina faciens veritas nostris principaliter sensibus inspiravit, ut causa instaurandæ Fidei, ac Disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ Episcopos omnes Hispaniæ nostro præsentandos culmini juberemus. Præcedenti autem diligenti & Cauta deliberatione siue quæ ad Fidem conveniunt, seu quæ ad morum correctionem respiciunt. Cum enim sensus maturitate & intelligentiæ gravitate constant esse digesta, nostra proinde auctoritas id omnibus hominibus ad regnum nostrum pertinentibus jubet, ut si qua definita sunt in hoc Sancto
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Consilio habita in Urbe Toletana, Anno Regni nostri feliciter quarto nulli contemnere liceat, nullus præterire præsumat, capitula enim, quæ nostris sensibus placita, & disciplinæ congrua, a præsentis conscripta sunt Synodo, in omni auctoritate, sive Clericorum, sive Laicorum, sive quarumcunque omnium observentur & maneant.

Thus begins the King's Edict in Confirmation of the Council.

*The most Glorious, and our most Pious Lord,
King Reccaredus.*

‘ **T**HE Divine Verity having made us
 ‘ Lovers of all our People, did inspire
 ‘ our Heart chiefly to command all Bishops
 ‘ of *Spain* to present themselves before our
 ‘ Throne, for to restore the Faith and Ec-
 ‘ clestiaſtical Discipline : a diligent and care-
 ‘ ful Deliberation having preceded, as well
 ‘ about Matters appertaining to the Faith, as
 ‘ about Correction of Manners ; and which
 ‘ having been plainly digested with Maturi-
 ‘ ty and Gravity, our Authority for that
 ‘ Reason, does command all within our
 ‘ Kingdom, not to despise, nor presume to
 ‘ transgress the Matters which have been de-
 ‘ fined in this Holy Council, held in the
 ‘ City of *Toledo*, in the Fourth Year of our
 ‘ happy Reign : And that the Doctrines
 ‘ which

‘ which have been determined in this present
 ‘ Synod, agreeing with our Sense, and be-
 ‘ ing expedient for Discipline, shall be ob-
 ‘ served, and remain in full Force with
 ‘ Clerks, Laicks, &c.

This Edi&t, the foregoing Subscription, and Relation of Thanks, need no Commentary to be sufficient to demonstrate, That the Ancient *Spanish* Kings had as great, if not a greater Ecclesiastical Supremacy than is claimed or exercised by the Kings, or Sovereign Queens of *England*; and to which Supremacy, the holy learned *Spanish* Bishops in those Primitive Times, did not only submit, but they highly approved of it, and thanked God for the Benefits of its Exercise, in calling, ordering, and confirming of their Synods.

The End of the First Tract.

A
V I E W
O F T H E
M E T H O D S

By which the
Roman Church

Keeps Her *People* from coming to the Know-
ledge of the Great and Manifold

Errors and Corruptions

Which are in Her
Faith, Worship, and Spirit.

I wondered with great Admiration, Rev. 17. 6.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D. and
Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-
Noster-Row. 1714.

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THE
PREFACE.

THAT the Roman Church abounding with earthly Riches and Honours, should, notwithstanding her great and manifold visible Errors and Corruptions, be cry'd up by many, as of an heavenly Origin and Beauty, is not to be wondred at; since Diana of the Ephesians, tho' but a dumb and polluted Idol, was for the same Reasons cry'd up so, by Demetrius and his fellow Crafts-Men. But the Thing that is marvelous here; and at which St. John in a Vision of the degenerated State of the Roman Church, did wonder with great Admiration, is the secret Cords by which that degenerate Church holds People in her corrupt Communion; who wou'd prefer the true Knowledge of God, and of his Worship, and of the appointed Means of Grace and Salvation, to all Worldly Interests and Considerations.

Now

The Preface.

Now having Reason to believe this to be the Case of the Generality of the Members of that Corrupted Church; in Compassion to their Souls, I have in the following Treatise, endeavoured to detect and lay open those Anti-Christian Bonds, so far as my Observation, who lived among them many Tears, has enabled me to do it; and which well-meant Endeavours, may God bless so, that they may be instrumental to the bringing many out of the thick Darkness of Popery, into the marvellous Light of that Holy Religion, which God, by his Eternal Son the Lord Christ Jesus, has revealed to the World, for the Salvation of lost Man, and which Divine Religion, is thro' God's great Mercy, now professed and taught in the Church of England; in whose Faith and Worship, all Papists, that have any Knowledge of them, are forced to confess, There is not any thing that is not truly Christian: All that they do, and can condemn in our Church, being her not believing and practising several Things which the Roman Church believeth and practiseth; and which Things, I have, I think, in the foregoing Treatise demonstrated to be Novelties; unknown to an Ancient and very great Western Church: As in other Places I have proved them not to have been known to the Two Ancient Southern Churches in Malabar and Æthiopia; and by the latter of which
Two

The Preface.

Two Churches, after she was compelled to know them, they were, and are to this Day, rejected as Hay and Stubble, built on the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner Stone. And tho' the Papal Champions do plainly discover, that they have no Love for the Memory of the Ancient Spanish Church; yet none of them dare deny that Church to have had in her Faith and Worship, all that Christ had made necessary to Salvation. And it will puzzle the subtilest Head in the Roman Church, to give a tolerable Reason, why Doctrines and Practices which were not necessary to Salvation in the Eighth Century, and which were not for that Reason known in it to the Church, should in the Eighteenth Century come to be necessary to it. Wherefore, we may, I think, justly look on the Romans as the newest and the most degenerate Christian Church in the World, until such time as she shall shew, that there was somewhere an Ancient Church, which agrees with her in those Doctrines and Practices in which she differs from other Churches; and which I think, has been shewed, to be the Case of the Church of England, not only as to the Ancient Spanish Church, but likewise as to the Ancient Churches of Malabar and Æthiopia, in all the Substantials wherein the Church of England differs from the Roman. And of this her Novelty and Degeneracy the
E Church

The Preface.

Church of Rome seems to be sensible ; for what else but the Sense of that could put her on using such Anti-Christian Arts and Methods to keep her People from searching into the Truth of all that she teacheth and practiseth. Of which Arts and Methods a true, tho' I will not say full, Account, is given in the following Tract.

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O F T H E

METHODS by which the
Roman Church keeps her Peo-
 ple, &c.

THAT *Roman Catholicks*, who have never had any Opportunities of being rightly inform'd in the Principles and Practices, of the true Christian Faith and Worship, and which is the Case of most of that Sect, should hold Popery fast, and be very zealous for it, is not at all to be wonder'd at : Seeing the *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Heathens*, in their several Sects, do the same ; and all of them, for the same Reason : Which is, *That it was the Religion of their Fore-Fathers, and the Religion in which they themselves were born and bred* : And tho' there is not any Man of Sense and Learning, that is not ashamed to own that to be the

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only

only Reason why he is of the Religion he professeth ; because if it were, his being of it, would be as accidental, and as little his own Choice, as his being born of such Parents, and in such a Country ; it may nevertheless be at the same time the strongest, if not the only Cord, Religion holds him by : being either hinder'd by it, from seeking after the Means of a true Information, or so indisposed by it, as not to reap that Benefit by their Use, which he would have done otherwise ; but besides the fast Hold which that præjudice has naturally on Mens Minds, it has another, and which is a strong one, from the common Opinion the World has taken up concerning Converts : Which is, *That it is not honourable for one to change the Religion he was born and bred in* : And the Thing that gave Rise to, and does still support that Opinion in the World, was not so much the Reflection which such a Change carries in it, on their own, and their Forefathers Wisdom, as the bad Disposition which is commonly observed to be in Profelytes ; who having shaken off the Belief of their Religion they were born and bred in, do too often turn irreligious : so Profelytes were called by the Jews, *The Scab of their Religion*, for their being after they had thrown off their old Faith, and zealous against that ; not much devoted to their new, nor to no other ; and which is the Case of all that change

change their first Religion, not out of Conscience, but for the sake of some worldly Advantage: And tho' this Prejudice is common to all Sects of Religion, that are of any standing in the World, it was never cry'd up so much, as to their own People; nor decry'd so much as to all others; as by the Church of *Rome*: which makes great use of it to keep her own Sheep within her Fold, but at the same time exposeth it in all others, as Irrational and Brutal; as in Truth it is: However, that Politick Church being sensible that this Prejudice, tho' it is strong, may be attacked so, as to be removed; and especially in such a Case as hers is; she has therefore taken great Care to wall it about, and both to stop, and fortify all the Avenues, by which it can be approached: And this she has done,

First, By stopping all the Ways by which the Knowledge of her Errors and Corruptions can possibly get to her People.

Secondly, By mis-representing all other Religions.

Thirdly, By using an extream Violence.

Lastly, and chiefly, By that absolute Bondage of Thought under which she keeps her Sheep.

As to the Ways by which the Knowledge of her Errors and Corruptions may come at any that believe them; not one of them has escaped her Diligence and Watchfulness, so,

as not to be close stopped by her. For as to that of the *Holy Scriptures*, which are the perfect Rule of the Christian Faith and Worship in all their Substantials; and which were believed to be such a Rule by the Primitive Catholick Church; she has taken special Care, that her Sheep shall not receive any Light by that Divine Way: And to that End, she keeps those *Divine Oracles* close locked up in a Language that is not understood by her People; neither dare any that understand the learned Languages, look into those dangerous Books, without her License: And as it is not safe for any to supplicate for such a License, so for that Reason, few do ask for it. And whereas the Bible has been Translated and Printed in all the Modern Languages of *Europe* by Protestants or others; tho' those Translations do in the Main agree with that of her vulgar *Latin*; yet never was so much Pains taken to prevent the spreading of any Book as is taken by the Church of *Rome* to prevent the Importing of Bibles in the Language of any of her Countries. No Ship which belongs to a Protestant Nation being well at an Anchor in any Popish Port where the Inquisition is, before she is visited and searched narrowly for Bibles, and all other Protestant Books by the Officers of that Court, and who, if they meet with any, do carry them to the Inquisition, where they are all burnt.

I do remember, that the good old Marshal Schomberg, the last time he was at *Lisbon*, told me with Tears in his Eyes, That having when he came ashore there, left a *Dutch Bible* which had been his Grandfathers, upon the Table of his Cabin, it had been carried from the Custom-House to the Inquisition, and that though he had sent to the chief Inquisitor, and had spoke to him himself for it, he had not been able to recover it; so that Cardinal Zimenes spoke the Sense of the whole *Roman Church*, when he said, *The having of the Bible in the Vulgar Languages, would be the ruin of their Religion.* For must not all that read that Divine Book, see, that there is not in it, one word of the *Bishop of Rome*, nor of *Adoring Images*, nor of *Praying to Creatures*, nor of *Purgatory*, nor of any other *Popish Doctrines*, unless it be to condemn them. And for which reason, and for no other, the *Roman Church* in contradiction to the *Primitive*, denies the *Holy Scriptures* to be the Rule of the Christian Faith, but in conjunction with *Oral Tradition*: And which though it makes as little for Popery as the Scriptures, yet being of such a Nature, that none but Learned Men can look into it, and who are not always the most unprejudiced, she reckoneth she has sufficiently secured her Errors and Corruptions from being detected, by having lodged them in so dark and uncertain a Conveyance.

It is true, the *New Testament* was Translated into *English*, and Printed by the Popish Seminary in *Reims*, with Notes upon it: But that was done for no other end, but only to furnish the *English Papists* with an Answer to the Protestants Objecting to them, that they were not suffered by their Church to have the Scriptures in a Language which they understood. And as I did never hear of but one Edition of that Book, so there were so few Copies of it printed, and those were bought up so fast by Protestants, who are not afraid to see all that the Enemies of their Religion can object against it, that there were not many left for the Papists, and who were not suffered to look into it, without a License, and which was not easily procured: And so much is acknowledged by its Translators and Publishers, who say in their Preface, That *the doing of it, that is, the Translating of the New Testament into English if it had not been among Protestants, would not otherwise have been much requisite, nor perhaps wholly tolerable.* And let *English Papists* but go into *Spain* or *Portugal* with their *Reimish Testament*, and see what the Inquisition will say to their Book and them, notwithstanding its Antidote of Popish Notes. And as the Bible is by the Church of *Rome* kept carefully out of the hands of her People, so it is the same with all other Books which have been writ against that Church, her People

not

not being suffered to look into any of them. And so jealous is the Church of *Rome* least her People, if they believed there were any Learning among Protestants, might suspect, that possibly they might have some grounds for their opposing of her, that where ever the Title of *Learned* is given to a Protestant by any of her Writers, that Title, though it was never so just, is by the *Index Expurgatorius* blotted out. By which means, Papists who were never in Protestant Countries, do believe that Protestants have no Learning, nor Books among them, or at least none of their own Writing. And to my knowledge, an *English* Envoy in a *Popish* Kingdom, was asked seriously by a Judge, whom he had carried into his Study, which was well furnished with Books, *Whether he had not bought all those Books in that City?* And being told that he had not, that Judge asked very gravely, *Whether there were any Books in England?* And tho' they that live among Protestants cannot possibly be ignorant to this degree; yet they do know as little of the inside of the Bible, or of any other Protestant Book that treats of Religion, as if they had lived all their days in the heart of *Spain*; dreading to look into any of those Books for fear of incurring the Censures fulminated by the *Roman* Church against the doing of it; and could their fears of those brutal Thunderbolts be but once shaken

shaken off, the great Obstacle to their turning Protestants would be removed.

The Second way by which the *Roman* Church keeps her Sheep within her Fold, is by misrepresenting all other Religions so, as to make them appear abominable. And for this vile Work, their not suffering their People to look into any Protestant Books, to learn from them what that Religion is, furnisheth the *Roman* Guides with a fair Opportunity, and by whom Protestants are so misrepresented, that they are not by the People in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, believed to be Christians, nor to worship, or to have any knowledge of God; neither does their calling Protestants Hereticks, which supposeth them to be Christians in Profession, at all commend this Matter; for as that is more than those People know, so they among them that do know it, will never rectifie their false Notion of that Name; but do let them go on, believing, That *Heretick*, *Atheist*, and *Infidel* are all but different Names for one and the same Thing. And to the praise of his Majesty be it spoken, this was not, to my knowledge, better known to any body, than it was to the Man who in the late Popish Reign, first made the lamentable out-cry of Papists being misrepresented in *England*. Neither is it one of the least of the Inquisitions Barbarities, that that Court, whenever it burns any Man or Woman for that Religion, that

have

have the Reputation of having led a Holy
 Life, does never fail to blast that Reputati-
 on, let it be never so just, with bold reports
 of their having detected them, to have been
 Hypocrites, and in secret Monsters of Wick-
 edness. Thus Doctor *Ægidio*, Doctor *Caza-*
la, and Doctor *Constantino*, the Three Burn-
 ing and Shining Lights of *Spain*, for Holi-
 ness, as well as for Learning, were first mar-
 tyr'd in their good Names by the Inquisition,
 on purpose to prejudice all those who had
 long admired them for their singular Piety
 against their Memories, and against the Reli-
 gion, for which they suffered Martyrdom.
 And as I have elsewhere observed this vile
 course of misrepresenting, is a Sanctuary to
 which all unmerciful Persecutors of People
 for their Religion, have constantly fled to
 secure themselves against the fury of the rest
 of Mankind; which reaping no Advanta-
 ges by the Inhumanities of burning, or rather
 roasting People alive for their Religion,
 would not otherwise endure them long;
 there not being Ferity enough in Man's Na-
 ture, as corrupt as it is, to endure to see
 those of their own kind used so Inhumanly,
 only for being mistaken in their Judgments,
 if they are mistaken, about Matters which
 have no ill influence on Morality or Govern-
 ment, and which that they have not, the
 Sufferers Holy Lives, if they were not misre-
 presented by their Persecutors, would de-
 monstrate.

monstrate. So all Persecutors, that they may be suffered to go on worrying all that oppose them, and their Interests, as if they were Bears and not Men, do constantly shew them to the People in Bears-skins, and as such Monsters of Wickedness, that tho' they were of their own Religion no Death would be bad enough for them: And by thus misrepresenting all other Religions without Fear, Shame, or Wit, tho' the Papal Champions are too successful in keeping their People from changing their Religion for any other, they are not so in keeping them from losing it, for it is believed there are more People of no Religion in *Italy* than in all the World besides.

The Third way, by which the *Roman* Church keeps her Sheep within her Fold, is by punishing, where she has Power, all that deny any of her Doctrines, with the most cruel of all Deaths; and that, after they have suffered a long train of other unspeakable Miseries in an Inquisition; which of all the Prisons that were ever upon Earth, resembles that of Hell the most: The Terrors of which merciless Court do cause all that are within its reach, and which are the great Body of that Flock, to dread the very thoughts of using any Means, which may possibly lead them to the Knowledge of any of that Churches Errors or Corruptions. For can any but dread the having of a Knowledge, which,
if

if it be any ways expressed, will cost them their Life, Liberties, and Estates. And as by these Terrors all that are under the Tyranny of the Inquisition, are of the same Mind in all Matters of Religion, so far as that Court requires it : So that Unity in so great a body of People, is no weak Charm to the Members of the *Roman* Church, which are not within the reach of that Court ; not considering, that no differences in Opinion, can be so Scandalous and Antichristian, as is the making use of such Inhumane Methods to prevent them ; and that by the very same brutal means of a well guarded Ignorance, and an extream Violence, a yet greater Unity in all Matters of Religion, is maintained among all the *Mahometans* in the large *Turkish* and *Morocco* Empires. For can a Society, let it be never so Corrupt, and its Corruptions be never so palpable, be troubled with any Differences, which destroys all immediately that are dissatisfied with any thing that is in it. And though *English* Papists, to my knowledge, when they do first see the Inhumanities exercised by the Inquisition, and the extravagant Joys of its Subjects upon them, are much Scandalized ; yet they have not been long under the influences of that Court, and of its Confessors, before they are perfectly reconciled to those Cruelties, and do rejoyce in them, no less than the Natives ; neither can it indeed be otherwise,

wise, that Inhumanity being in neither of them the effect of any Savageness or Ferity in their Natural Tempers, but purely the effect of the Spirit of Popery, whetted to such an edge by its Confessors as they would have it to be of; and which, where they dare, they do always give it. So that if in *Queen Mary's* Reign there were not in *England* the same extraordinary Rejoycings, as there are now in *Spain* and *Portugal*, at the sight of a Protestant being burnt, or rather roasted alive for his Religion; though I do not know but therẽ was; it was certainly owing, purely to the shortness of that burning Reign, not having allowed the Confessors time enough to strip *English* Tempers of all Humanity on such Occasions. So that if a Christian Spirit be a Spirit of Mercy and Compassion, the Spirit of Popery must be Anti-Christian; being the most Inhuman, Merciless, and Unrelenting Spirit in all its own immediate Concerns, the Earth was ever haunted with.

The last Chief and most extensive Way, by which the *Roman* Church keeps her Sheep within her Fold, is, That of having brought them under a perfect bondage of Thought to her, by teaching them Magisterially, That the having the least Doubt or Scruple in their Minds concerning the truth of any of her Dictates, is a most damnable Sin. Neither is there any Doctrine so frequently, and so power-

powerfully driven and rivetted into the Spirits of the People by their Confessors as this is : The Sinfulness of all the Mortal Sins, being neither so much exaggerated, nor punished with so severe and long a Penance, as the having had any doubts concerning the *Roman Faith*. And that Church was not out in her Policy, when she made it a Maxim, *That he that doubts of the Truth of any of her Doctrines, is an Heretick, and would, if his doubts could be known, deserve to be punished as such.* Seeing they of her Communion that have but strength of Mind enough to venture on entertaining any such Doubts, cannot be very far from being what she calls an Heretick ; the grossness of her Errors and Corruptions being too palpable, to be able to escape the Enquiries such Doubts do naturally lead their Subjects to. And so great and meritorious a Thing this bondage of Thought is reckoned to be in her Members, that nothing is so common in the Mouths of her Debaushies, as *the Thanking of God, that among all their Faults, they were never once guilty of any doubt concerning the Roman Faith,* and their known innocency in that goes a great way towards the keeping their Consciences quiet in all their Wickednesses. And must not all who are held in Popery purely by this bondage of Thought, and which is the case of the great body of its Professors, if they had been born of *Jewish Parents,*
and

and had taken the same meritorious Course, have been of the *Jewish*; and if of *Mahometan* Parents, have been of the *Mahometan*; and if of *Heathen* Parents, have been of the *Heathen* Religion. And how acceptable a Faith, which is thus accidental, can be to God, they would do well to consider, who believing that they have had the great good luck to be born in the only true Religion, and which is believed in all Sects, do never enquire whether the Religion they were born and bred in, be the true or not. But now, though considering how much that High-born Spirit that is in Man disdains to be in Fetters, as to its own immediate inward Actions, whatever restraints may be laid on its outward, it may scarce seem possible to bring Man's Mind under an absolute bondage of Thought in the matters of its chief Concerns. Yet since all Speculations, let them appear to be never so well grounded, must yield to Experience when they are contradicted by it. So being sure, that in fact this is the case of the Members of the *Roman* Church; the means by which it is introduced and maintained, is a thing worthy of any ones enquiry.

Many pious and learned Men apprehending it to be above the power of Natural Causes, to bring the Mind of Man under such a perfect bondage of Thought, as they see the Papists are under; have attributed it,
 either

either to Sorcery, or to a Judicial Spiritual Blindness; and for both which, they do seem to have the Authority of the Scriptures. St. *John* in the 18th Chapter of the *Revelations*, and the 23d Verse, speaking of *Spiritual Babylon*, which not only Protestants, but many others do understand to be *Rome Christian*, *Apostatised to Idolatry*; said of her, *For by thy Sorceries were all Nations deceived*. And St. *Paul* in the 2d Chapter of his 2d Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, speaking of the same, under the Titles of *the Man of Sin*; *the Son of Perdition*; *the Mystery of Iniquity*; and *that Wicked One*; saith of him, and his Followers, *That because they received not the love of the Truth that they might be saved, for this cause God will send them strong delusions that they should believe a Lye*; or things so manifestly incredible, as they could not possibly have believed otherwise.

But though I will not say, that this may not be the Case of the Learned Men in the *Roman Church*, if they do really believe all her *Fables*, *false Miracles*, and *groundless Doctrines*; yet as to her common People, and others, who have either had no opportunities of better Information, or have been afraid to use them, how their Minds might be brought and kept under such an absolute bondage of Thought, may, I conceive, be accounted for, without having recourse either to Sorceries, or to Judgments.

Now so far as I could observe, whilst I lived amongst them, and I did observe this very thing as narrowly as I was able, this great bondage of Thought, was introduced, and is still maintained, by bold reports of Miracles which have been, and still are to be daily wrought in the *Roman Church*: And by confident Stories of new Divine Revelations made to some Nun or other.

And whereas true Miracles such as those which were wrought by our blessed Saviour and his Apostles, and whose Truth are so fully attested, are undeniable Evidences of the Truth of the things they were wrought to confirm; such Miracles being the immediate Works of God, who as he cannot Lye, so neither can he employ his Almighty Power, by which only true Miracles can be wrought, to give credit to Lies, by working Miracles to make them pass for Truths: So the Papists believing that their Church always has, and does still work Miracles, or at least that they are wrought in her, do so entirely submit their understandings to her, as to dread the thoughts of entertaining the least Suspicion, that she may possibly be mistaken, and by this Belief, they have the Eyes of their Understandings shut so close, that they cannot see any Evidences, tho' never so clear, of her Anti-Christianism and Corruptions, which may be laid before them: For as were it true, that that Church does
work

work Miracles, they would then be much in the right in thus submitting their understandings to her, so tho' that is palpably False, yet since they do firmly believe it, it must have the same effects on their Minds, as if it were true, and must make them proof against all Arguments whatsoever. And did Protestants after the example of the Church of *Rome*, think it lawful to *Lye* for God, and *their Religion*, they might likewise pretend to the working of Miracles, with altogether as good, if not better grounds than she does : But though that pretence would be the best Weapon they could use with Papists ; yet as no Protestant Church did ever make use of it, having no Doctrines which were not confirmed by the unquestionable Miracles wrought by our blessed Saviour and his Apostles ; so God forbid that any of them should ever have recourse to those, or any other sort of Lies to make them their Covering. For though Errors cannot be supported but by the bold and false Pretences, and the vile Arts which a black policy suggests : Truth, as it stands in no need of such base Supporters, so if they be employ'd in its Service, it is but discredited by them, among all that have their Eyes open to detect them.

And so sensible were the sworn Champions of Popery, that nothing but their Peoples being fully perswaded of Miracles be-

ing wrought by their Church, could possibly keep them under that bondage of Thought, without which Popery cannot long subsist, that they have boldly made that Church's working of Miracles, a Mark of her being the true Church; and as it would indeed be so, if it were true; so its being visibly false, makes it the Mark of her being the *Beast* spoke of in the *Revelation*; among whole Marks given by *St. Paul*, and which are all to be met with in the *Roman Church*, this was one, *That she would deceive the World with lying Signs and Wonders*. And accordingly that Church has for many Ages, and does still, ply her People so with bold reports of Miracles, that never were any People plied so with any thing besides: For should I say, that not fewer than ten thousand Miracles are published by her in Print, besides the numberless, whose Reports did not long survive the Time when they were said to be wrought. I know I should speak much within compass, her bulky Legends, and Saints Lives being little else but great heaps of Miracles shovelled together. And to this Day in Popish Countries, as is well known to all that have lived in them, the news of Miracles being wrought in one dark Corner or other, does come so very thick upon People, that the talking of Miracles is almost the whole of their Conversation, to the great exercise of their Patience who live among

among them, and cannot believe them; and that they may have their minds early and thoroughly seasoned with the *Credulity* to believe all Reports, Written or Oral, of Miracles at first hearing. The first things they are told when they are Children, are Miracles, which were wrought by this or that Image, or by this or that Relick, or by this or that Saint; and as that Credulity grows up with them, so it is greater than could be believed, if it were not seen.

It is entertaining enough to observe, how *Bellarmino* after he had made the Glory of Miracles the Eleventh Note of the *Romans* being the true Church; and upon the Authority of one Legend or other, had quoted some in every Age who had wrought Miracles; does in the Eleven last Centuries quote but one single Pope for having wrought any; and who should that be, but *Gregory* the VIIth. the Falsest, the most Turbulent, and the most Seditious Monk that ever sat in the *Roman Chair*: And before him, he quotes but two Popes, and that upon a Legendary Pope's Authority. And being come to the Age since the Reformation, and not finding in *Europe* a Miracle Worker, he goes for one as far as the *East-Indies*, where upon the Credit of Letters writ from thence by Jesuits, he tells us, That the Jesuit *Francis Xavier*, did work divers Miracles; and the Two he instanceth in, were very extra-

ordinary : *The Gift of Tongues* was not one of them, for he complains of his not having that Gift. The first was, That his Body was whole, and did cast a fragrant Smell fifteen Months after he was dead ; as if having died at *Malaca*, no Spices were to be found there to have Embalmed it. The other was, That a Storm at Sea did cease when his Body was carried from *Malaca* to *Goa* ; as if, in the *East-Indies* Storms did never cease without a Miracle.

Neither is what he saith of *the Light of Prophecy* being the Twelfth Note of the *Romans* being the true Church, less diverting : For as he quotes but Two in the last eleven Centuries for having had that Light, so the Predictions which he mentions, are very notable Proofs of it. The first was the Monk *Bernard*, one of whose Prophecies, was, That he told four Men, when they thought nothing of it, nay, one of them was averse to it, That they would all become Monks, and they all did. The other was, That he bid a Noble Man's Son, who had spoke to him to pray, that his Father might be Converted to be a Monk, not to fear, for he would bury his Father a profess'd Monk in the Abby of *Claravall* ; and so he did, and the devout Son, when his Father turned Monk, had his Estate it is like. But *Bernard* had another Prophecy, though *Bellarmino* takes no notice of it, of a much more solemn

solemn and important Nature, than a thousand of the forementioned would be ; which was, That upon a Vision, as he pretended, he did promise the People of *France*, if they would go in a *Cruzado* to the holy Land, extraordinary good Success, and a compleat Victory over the *Saracens* : Many thousands went thither upon that Prophecy, but who, without having had any good Success, were all either Slain, or famished in that Expedition. The Second quoted by him for the *Light of Prophecy*, is *Francis*, the Founder of the *Franciscan Order* ; and his Prophecy was, That he told the Christian Captains, that if they fought on that Day with the *Saracens*, they would be beat by them, and so they were soundly, for having despised his Words : As if none but a Prophet had before a Battle told truly which side would be beat. Certainly *Bellarmino* himself could not but smile when he produced two such Prophecies, and no more, as sufficient Proofs of the *Light of Prophecies* being in the *Roman Church* ; and in which one would think that Light has been for some Ages quite extinguished, seeing since Friar *Francis's* time, and who has been dead near five hundred Years, not one is said by *Bellarmino* to have had that Light.

But how vain and groundless soever all the Reports are of the Glory of Miracles, and the Light of Prophecy being in the *Roman Church*, yet until such time that her

People can be brought at least to suspect, that all those *Miracles* and *Prophecies* may be *Lies* and *Fables*, either Superstitiously or Cunningly devised; it is scarce possible to convince them of the Falshood of their Religion; but when that is once done, their Conversion will, afterwards, be found to be no difficult Work. And here I cannot but take notice, of the crafty way taken by the Church of *Rome* to pervert Protestants; which is, when they find that Arguments will not do, they then desire them not to be so confident of their Religion's being true, as not to Fast and Pray to God to discover to them whether it is or not; and having brought them once to doubt of the Truth of their Religion, as far as this comes to; if they have them close in a Monastery, they do either by a Voice, or a Vision in the Night, after they have spent some time in Fasts and Prayers, let them know, that the Popish is the only true Religion. And by this way, an *English* Jesuit told me, very devoutly, he had been Converted in *France*, when he was there, by an exchange for to have learned the Language; and that after a long Fast, and many Repetitions of that Prayer, the Virgin *Mary* appeared to him when he was in Bed, and told him, There was no Salvation out of the Church of *Rome*. And thus Popery does its whole Work, by false reports of Miracles, and by counterfeiting of them.

Now

Now, that all the Miracles which are reported to have been wrought by, or in the *Roman Church*, are either mere Impostures, or superstitious Fancies, may be demonstrated by the following clear Evidences :

First, By the Persons and Places, by whom, and where they are said to be wrought.

Secondly, By many of them, and which are as well attested as any of the rest, being of no manner of use, and many of them Impious, and many of them Ridiculous and Undecent, and many of them Encouragements to Vice ; of all which I shall give some Instances.

Thirdly, By confident Reports of Miracles, when they are said to be wrought in Confirmation of any Points which are disputed among themselves, being despised by those they are levell'd against, as things not worthy of the least Notice or Regard.

Lastly, By the Confessions of some Learned Papists forced by Shame for to make them.

First, This Power of working Miracles, to which the Church of *Rome* pretends, not being lodged in any certain Person, nor Body of Men, but left loose and itinerant, is a shrew'd

shew'd Presumption of that Power's not be-
 ing in her at all : for though it is a great
 Rashness to say, That Miracles ought to be
 wrought, where we judge the working of
 them would do much good ; it is not so, to
 affirm that if the Power of working Miracles
 were given to any Society, on purpose to
 prove it to be *God's Peculiar*, that that Power
 would certainly be lodged where it would
 best answer the End for which it was given ;
 and so would be in the chief Governour of
 that Society, if it has but one, or in its Go-
 vernment, if it has more : And what makes
 this to hold the stronger as to the Church of
Rome, is that her chief Governour, or Go-
 vernment, which are the Pope, or a Coun-
 cil, do pretend to have the miraculous Gift
 of Infallibility bestow'd upon them ; and
 why those Two miraculous Gifts, if they be
 in the Church of *Rome*, should not be lodged
 together, no good Reason can be given.
 Since it is undeniable, that if they were
 lodged so, they would answer the End for
 which they were said to have been given in-
 finitely better than they do apart. For be-
 sides that this miraculous Power would then
 demonstrate the true Seat of that Church's
 Infallibility, about which her Members are
 now so much divided ; and would have pre-
 vented the many long and dangerous Schisms,
 which have been in the Papacy, it would
 have done that Church a thousand other
 good

good Offices which she has not received from it, as it is said to have lain lurking in her for many Ages. For tho' within these thousand Years, many thousands of Miracles are reported to have been wrought in the *Roman Church*; not so much as one is said to have been wrought by any of her Popes, or by any of her Councils; *Gregory* the VIIth always excepted, for having been the very last Pope that one would have guessed to have wrought any. So that if that miraculous Power be in her, and was given her for a Mark of her being the only True Church, it is a Mark so obscure, and which lurks in her so, that whatever others may do, none that have their Eyes open can see it; and which all must have done, had it been stamped either on the Pope, or upon a Council.

But though this miraculous Mark is not to be seen on any certain Part of the *Roman Church*, and never on those Parts where it would be the most useful, and would do the most good, both to her self, and the rest of the World. Yet that Church has a Mark set on her by *St. Paul*, and by *St. John*, expressly on a certain Part of her Body, that is, on her *Fore-head*; and which Mark may be plainly seen by all that will learn from those Two Apostles what it is.

Secondly, The Missionaries which are sent by the *Roman Church* to convert *Infidels* and
Here-

Hereticks to her, not having the Power of working Miracles, is more than a Presumption of no such Power's being in that Church. For considering that *St. Paul* has declared, That *Signs* or *Miracles* are wrought for the sake of those who do not believe, that they may be brought to the Faith by their Testimony ; and not for Believers, who stand in no need of them : Must not, according to this Doctrine of *St. Paul's*, to the Power of working Miracles, if it be any where in a Church, be chiefly, if not only, in those who are employ'd by her to convert Infidels or *Hereticks* to her Faith ? But with the numberless Miracles which are said to be wrought in the *Roman Church*, it is quite otherwise, none of which are ever wrought before Infidels or *Hereticks* to convert them ; but they are one, and all said to be wrought in hugger-mugger among her own believing Members ; and the more entirely any People do believe in that Church, the more Miracles are still reported to be wrought among them ; and which Miracles are of no benefit to them, unless their being kept by them under an absolute Bondage of Thought is reckoned a Benefit ; it is true their Churches are full of *Tables of Vows* which have been made by People to one Saint or another, for I never saw one hung up for the Honour of God or Christ, when they were very sick, or in danger of being Shipwreck'd, or in any other
great

great Peril ; and who having recovered, and been deliver'd, after they had made that Vow, are reckoned to have been delivered miraculously by the Saint to whom they made it. But though these Events, if they wore miraculous, could not be denied to be beneficial, yet it will be soon enough for the *Roman* Church to prove that Miracles are wrought in her from those Events ; when no Infidels or Hereticks that are dangerously sick do ever recover ; or when in any Peril of being Shipwreck'd that they are constantly cast away. Which is so far from being true, that I am apt to believe, that were there a true and full Account of all these latter dangerous Events, the *English* and *Dutch* being better Seamen, would be found to escape such Dangers, much oftener than the *Spanish* or *Portugueses*. And that other Nations, which are not Popish, nor so good Sailors as they, do sometimes escape out of great Perils.

And though no doubt is to be made, of as many, if not more, Miracles being reported to be wrought in the *East* and *West-Indies* among the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* that live there, than are reported to be wrought in *Spain* and *Portugal*, yet that they have no Miracles to spare to convert the poor unbelieving *Indians* to their Faith, is acknowledged by *Joseph Acosta*, a *Spanish* Jesuit, who was early, and long a Missionary in the *West-Indies* ; whose Words in the Eighth

Chap.

Chapter of his Second Book *De procuranda Indorum salute*, which was Printed at *Salamanca* in the Year 1589, I shall here set down.

Altera causa in nobis est, cur Apostolica prædicatio institui omnino Apostolice non possit, quod Miraculorum nulla facultas sit, &c. at nostri nunc temporis cum talium operum majestate sese Barbaris admirandos, & timendos non præbeant, nihil restat, nisi ut reliqua vitæ inopia, & impotentia, penitus contemnatur. And soon after in the same Chapter that Jesuit adds, *His accedit, quod perspecta nostrorum hominum avaritia, & ferocia ita hæ Nationes percussæ sunt, ut sibi consulendum putant, nostris ubicunque conceditur, sine ulla discrimine interemptis. Non solum ergo Signorum vis nostris temporibus deest, verum pro iis etiam scelera ubique fervent.* That is, Another Cause, why with us the Apostolical Preaching cannot be at all Apostolically discharged, is, because there is no Power of working Miracles. And ours, at this time, not rendring themselves admirable and formidable to the Barbarians by the Majesty of such Works, nothing can hinder the remaining Poverty of their Lives and their Weakness, to be thoroughly contemned. To these it may be added, That beholding the Covetousness and Cruelty of our Men, those Nations are struck with it so, that they do reckon they have consulted well for themselves, when, where they dare do it, they have killed them without Distinction. Neither is the Power of working
Miracles

Miracles only wanting in our Times, but instead of that, Crimes do reign every where. So far Acosta.

And what was it but the want of this miraculous Power among Infidels, that made the Jesuit *Xavier*, who is stiled the Apostle of the *Indies*, to say, *That Missionaries without Muskets, did never make Converts to any purpose.*

And yet, notwithstanding this acknowledged great Want of the Apostolical Gift of working Miracles, the Jesuits have managed that Matter so in *Spain* and *Portugal*, that on the Account of their *Indian* Missions, they have got themselves in those Two Kingdoms, to be called oftener, and to be better known by the Name of *Os Apostolos*, or the *Apostles*, than by that of *Jesuits*, tho' that is a Name of Arrogance enough. And now here I would ask, Whether a Church that has no Power to work Miracles on the great and proper Occasions of Converting Infidels, can be believed to have any Miracles wrought in her.

And is it not the same with the *Roman* Missionaries who are employed to convert Protestants, among whom I did never hear of their having wrought one single Miracle, nor of their having ever given it out that they would work one; publicly to convert them, and can one think otherwise of the Church of *Rome's* not having wrought any

any Miracles here in *England*, in the late Popish Reign to have promoted the Conversion of the whole Kingdom, but that she had no Power to work any, and that being conscious to her self that she had not, she durst not pretend that she would, knowing very well, that thereby she would have exposed her self to the Scorn and Contempt of Protestants, whom she knows not to be so credulous as her own People.

Now Miracles never being wrought by the Church of *Rome*, where they are of any considerable Benefit, either to her self, or to the rest of the World is a Demonstration to all that know what sort of Works Miracles are, that she has no Power to work them; and that all the Miracles which are reported to be wrought in her, are either mere Fictions, or superstitious Delusions. And this will yet further appear by giving Instances of several of the Miracles which are said to be wrought in the *Roman* Church, and which are as well attested as any that are reported to have been wrought in her, many of which are altogether useless, others are impious, others are ludicrous, and others have an ill Influence on Religion, and a good Life.

Under the Head of Useless, as to any religious Purpose, the greater Part of that Church's pretended Miracles might be brought. So *St. Patrick*, is said to have heated an Oven with Snow, when there was

no want of better Fuel in *Ireland*; and to have turned a Pound of Honey, into a Pound of Butter to humour his Nurse, who loved Butter better than Honey, tho' a Pound of Butter was then to have been had there for a Farthing. So St. *Francis*, when he preached in the Fields, brought all the Beasts in the Forest to be his Auditors. And St. *Anthony*, when he preached near a River, brought all the Fish above Water to hear him; and neither the Land nor the Water Congregation would depart, before their Preacher had dismissed them with a Blessing. Several of their Friars have hung their wet Habits a drying on the Sun-beams, when they wanted not Hedges to have laid them on. And many more have passed the Seas upon their Frocks, and upon single Stones, when they might have had Ships and Boats; and many a Stone has been made miraculously hard, and do continue so still for having hurt Friars Feet. But such useless Miracles as these are numberless in the *Roman* Legends: I pass therefore to others, which are impious, and which are pretty common too; for of that Nature, I reckon those to be, of Christ's having married Nuns, and played at Cards with them; and of his having taken them up upon his Cross, and of Nuns having lived upon the Milk of the blessed Virgin, and of some Orders being so dear to our blessed Lady, that in Heaven she lodges them

under her Robes; and since they who are Strangers to the Books of the *Roman Church*, may think that it is not possible for any Christians to be so impious as to report such Stories; for their Conviction, I shall set down the Stories of such Miracles in their own Words, and that not out of blind Writers, who lived before the Reformation, but out of Authors who have writ since, and whose Books are approved, and licensed by the Inquisition, and by the Provincials of Orders, and by many others.

Waddingus, a late learned *Franciscan*, in his Annals on his own Order on the Year 1514, saith, that *Santa Clara* did confess, that by a single Prerogative of Christ's Love for her, Christ did first betroth himself to her, and afterwards marry her; and that from that Time she sucked the Blessed Virgin, tho' she did look plump, she did eat but seldom, and but but very little; and that having once seen Christ upon the Cross he did take her up to him, and that having hung there for some time, she had vehement Pains in her Hands, and in the Soles of her Feet, and in her Side, and which continued after she returned Home.

And on the Year 1534, *Waddingus* having forgot that twenty Years before he had called Christ's having married *Santa Clara* a singular Prerogative of his Love to her, on this Year, he saith, that Christ did before the

the blessed Virgin, and a Multitude of Angels, take *Joanna a Santa Cruce* for his Wife, wedding her with his own Ring.

And that none may think the *Roman* Church is now grown ashamed of these stupendous Impieties, I shall here set down two Stories of the same Stamp, in the Words they are related, in the Life of *Santa Rosa*, who was born long after the Reformation, and which Life was printed in *Spain*, within these thirty Years, and approved of, and licensed by the Inquisition, and many more Ecclesiasticks.

In the Eleventh Chapter of that Life, it is said; Oh! the Miracle which now follows, is a most clear Testimony of the Love of the Divine Spouse, in having taken *Santa Rosa* to be his Wife.

After this holy Virgin had cloathed herself with the Habit of the Third Order of her Father St. *Dominick*, a certain Man appeared to her, as she was asleep one Night, with so charming and beautiful a Gesture, that *Santa Rosa* was perswaded he was either one of the Saints, which are clad with the Lights and Splendors of Glory, or was her own divine Spouse; who is beautiful and resplendent beyond all the Sons of Men. The only thing that stuck with her, was, That by his Cloaths he appeared to be a *Mason*, or one who worked on Stone and Marble for the building of Houses; but in truth it was the

divine Spouse; and who by his Countenance and Gesture did discover the Love and Chearfulness wherewith he came to seek out his Bride, to be married to her. *Rosa*, who had never in her Life before so much as dreamt of Marrying, did on this Occasion begin to entertain Thoughts of it; and not only so, but did judge, that it would be the greatest Happiness that could befall her, to have the Young Man who appeared to her for her Spouse; which was undoubtedly a Sympathy in her, and a hidden Effect of the divine Grace, moving and touching *Rosa* to love the Secrets which she did not understand, so as to accept of the Contract of Marriage which was proposed to her; and accordingly they having betrothed their Word and Faith one to another, the Bridegroom departed, saying, *He had a Journey to take, which could not be deferred.* But this refined Lover, not being content with having shewed himself to be *Rosa's* Husband in a Disguise, and in a Dream, in the Figure and Habit of a *Mason*; he threw off his Disguise, and came to her when she was awake, desiring he might have her for his Wife; and that *Rosa* might be certain in the Mystery and Signification of so many Signs of Joy, the little *Jesus* spoke these amorous Words to her; *Rosa of my Heart, give your self to me, to be my Spouse;* and she having humbly accepted of so sovereign and prodigious a Favour, made answer
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in the humble Words of the most pure Virgin, *O the good Jesus, here is the Servant of the Lord, here is thy Servant and Slave, O King of Eternal Majesty! I am thine, and do own my self to be thine, and will be thine always.* Here the holy Virgin did interpose, as she did at the Marriage at *Cana in Galilee*; and with more Action, and better Reason, she having been the sole Mother, and Match-maker of this Wedding, which had been wholly contrived and ordered by her; it having been at her Request that her only Son did take *Rosa* for his Wife; and who at last said these Words to the Bride, *See Rosa, the great Favour my Son has done you.*

The next miraculous Story, is, in the Fifteenth Chapter of that Saint's Life, which is, That *Rosa* being very ill of a sore Throat, the Lord whose Throat is most sweet, as it is said of him in the Fifth of the *Canticles*, appeared to her all over amiable; and having, to divert her Pain, invited her to play with him, *Rosa* was content, having first bargained, that the Winnings should be whatever the Winner pleased. The Cards were plaid, and *Rosa* having won the first Game, demanded her Winnings presently; and remembring, perhaps, those Words of the Spouse in the *Canticles*, *His Fruit is sweet to my Throat*, she required that the Pain of her Throat might be mitigated, and it was so presently. But the Divine Compa-

nion and Gamester, as if he could not with Patience bear his having lost, did insist on playing another Game, and which having been yielded to, he won it: And that the Reward of his Victory might be the increasing of *Rosa's* Patience, the Pain of her Throat encreased so of a sudden, that she passed the whole Night without any Sleep. And perceiving that *Maria Olivera* was much concerned at her being worse, to comfort her, *Rosa* discovered the whole Secret to her, saying, *Her Pain was no matter of care, having been only a Game or Pastime with the Spouse.*

I shall add but one Story more of this sort, and which is told by no less a Person than the Learned Cardinal *Bona*. The Story is, That a Monk of his own Order, which was the *Benedictine*, having been carried up into Heaven, did there see the blessed Virgin sitting upon a Throne, with innumerable Multitudes of Monks and Friars, of all other Orders but his own about her. The good *Benedictine* was so confounded at this Sight, that he was ready to have sunk down; which having been observed by the Blessed Virgin, she called him to her, and *bid him be of good Courage, for the Benedictines were so dear to her, that they were always the nearest to her.* And having thrown aside her Robes, he saw a numberless Company of *Benedictines*, which he could not see before: This

impious and indecent Stuff, which is enough to make a *Protestant* sick to relate it, is not only believed in the *Roman Church*, but a Claim is put into this Story, by several other Orders; tho' *Bona* saith unjustly; and is it not the same with the Wounds of our blessed Lord, which are said to have been printed by him, on the same Parts of *St. Francis's* Body: And the Truth is the great Emulations which have been long betwixt the several Orders of Monks, Friars and Nuns in the *Roman Church*, have above all things else, filled their Legends with such impious, miraculous Stories: Every Order, having strove and wrack'd their Invention to devise so miraculous Favours done to their own, and to no other Order: And by which fierce Emulations, they have been so far transported, and especially in the Familiarities which are said by them to have passed betwixt our blessed Lord and some of their Nuns, and betwixt our blessed Lady and some of their Monks and Friars, that if the Devisors of those vile Reports, be not looked on as shameless Lyars, the Honour of Christianity must suffer by them extreamly. And at this Weapon the *Franciscans*, to give them their due, have out-done the *Dominicans*, and all others, having had the good Luck first to think of *that* our Lord's Wounds and of *that* of his marrying Nuns; and tho' the *Dominicans*, knowing how much the *Franciscan* Order did value

its self upon those Privileges, have since been at great Pains to have had them for their Order too; they have miscarried foully, thro' the Vigilance of the *Franciscans*, in two Attempts to have had the pretended Wounds; and tho' *Katherine of Sienna*, a *Dominican* Nun, and *Mary of Pazzi*, a *Carmelite*, who has not been Canoniz'd thirty Years, are both said to have had those Wounds; yet their having never been seen by any Body upon them, does not a little lessen the Credit of those Reports, notwithstanding it is said, that the Reason why they were never seen upon the latter, was, that when she received them, she prayed they might never be beheld by any human Eye: And her Prayer was heard, for they were never seen upon her by any Mortal: And tho' the Miracles which are reported to have been wrought by this new Saint, as to the Evidences of their Truth, have no Advantage of the old ones; yet being of some use they are more artfully framed: such were her having in her Life-time turned a Vessel of fower Wine into a Vessel of excellent good Wine, and which did work Miracles; and her Image after her Death having been set on an Oil-Tub, did supply all the Nuns of her Convent with special Oil for above three Months; and her having turned her Head to the other side when a licentious young Man came to touch her dead Body, as was attested by a Jesuit, who would
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never have lent a *Dominican* Nun such a Testimony, no nor a *Carmelite* neither, if his own Order had had any Nuns belonging to it.

Many Miracles are said to have been wrought in the *Roman* Church, which are not only useless, but are also ludicrous: So *Dominick*, having been disturb'd one Day in his Study by the Devil's skipping about on the Leaves of his Book in the shape of a Flea, to punish him for his Sauciness, *Dominick* kept him in that shape a considerable Time, and having fixed him, made use of him for a *Mark* to know where he had left off reading: But the Devil, after he was released from that Post, having disturbed *Dominick* more, as he was reading by Candle-Light, by grinning, and making grimaces at him, in the shape of a Monkey; to spoil his apish Tricks, *Dominick* made him hold his Candle, till his Claws were burnt to the Bone.

St. Francis was a Mediator of Peace betwixt a Village in *Italy*, and a Wolf which destroy'd their Cattle; and having first brought the Village to promise to supply the Wolf daily, as was reasonable, with sufficient Sustenance, he went forth to the Wolf, and acquainted him with the Articles he had procured for him; and having gained much upon the Wolf by having called him *Brother*, he accepted of the Terms, and did

did with his Paws solemnly Stipulate never to touch their Cattel any more; neither did he, *St. Francis* being the Guarantee of the Peace.

St. Vincent's Body after his Martyrdom, having, at the Cape which bears his Name, been put aboard a Ship which had no Mariners in her, the Ship was steer'd from that Cape to *Lisbon* by a *Raven*; and to this Day there are in that City several *Ravens*, which are descended from that Pilot, to be living Witnesses of that Miracle, though none of them are Pilots.

A certain *Carthusian* being dangerously Sick, his Physicians imposed upon him, and for Water-gruel gave him Hen-broth; but before the first Spoonful of Broth was within his Lips, the whole Hen, that had been boiled in it, Feathers and all, flew out of the Poringer.

St. James the Apostle in most of the Battles the *Spaniards* had with the *Moors*, is said to have appeared armed Cap apee upon a stately white Horse, at the Head of the *Spanish* Armies, and to have mowed the Infidels down by Troops. And so firmly was this Miracle believed in *Spain*, that in gratitude to that Apostolical General, the richest Order in that Kingdom was erected to preserve the Memory of his Martial Feats. On which, nevertheless *Mariana*, though both a Jesuit and a *Spaniard*, could not forbear making

king the following scurvy Reflection : *Who can ascertain the truth of this, that is, of St. James's fighting so, but the Joy of such Victories does commonly give occasion to all sorts of Miracles being looked on as indubitable.*

Many Miracles which are said to have been wrought in the Church of *Rome*, have naturally a very ill influence on Religion, and a good Life.

So in the Fourth and Fifth Lectures of the Office of the *Immaculate Conception*, approved by Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, the following Miracle is solemnly related.

A certain *French* Priest, who did constantly sing the *Nocturnal Hours* of the blessed Virgin with great Devotion, having one Night been too familiar with another Man's Wife, he did, after his Lust was satisfied, about Midnight make hast to return Home ; but having a great River to pass, after he was in the Boat, he began to sing our *Lady's Hours*, and when he was in the middle of the River, being come to the Invitatory *Ave Mary*, &c. a great company of Devils came about him ; and having sunk both him and his Boat, down to the bottom, according to his Deserts, they carried his Soul away with them ; but on the third Day after, the blessed Virgin with an innumerable company of Saints all clad with Light, came to the place where the evil Spirits were tormenting him : The blessed Virgin having fallen

fallen upon the Devils with hard Words, asked them, *How they durst torment the Soul of one that served her* : The Devils answered, *we have a right to his Soul, for we found him employ'd in our Works* : To this the blessed Virgin reply'd, *If his Soul belongs to those, whose Work he was performing, it must be mine, for he was singing my Mattins when ye slew him* : ye have been therefore guilty of a great Crime, and have done me a great Injustice. At these words, the Devils having fled some one way, and some another, the blessed Virgin carried the Priests Soul back to his Body, and having raised him from two Deaths, and the bottom of the Sea, she carried him back safe to his Port. This Miracle, as it could not but beget a wonderful Devotion in all that believed it, for the *Office* of the *Immaculate Conception*, and which was indeed the end for which it was devised, so it could not but at the same time much weaken their Belief of the Necessity of *Repentance*, seeing the want of that Duty might be abundantly supply'd by that *Office*, being the last Exercise of ones Life.

A sober Gentleman had his Leg broke one Night, as he was riding home, for having refus'd to pledge the Health of *St. Uldarick's Charity*; neither could he be well of that Sore, before he was carried to that Saint's Shrine, and had made a solemn Vow to him, never to refuse to drink his *Charity*
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any more. Was not this Story a great encouragement to hard Drinking, which St. *Uldarick's Charity* is, in a Nation where Miracles need not be wrought to promote it?

A certain Extortioner, who had got a great Estate by unjust Gain, and who had not one good quality in him, besides that of being much devoted to our Lady, and to her *Rosary*; having after his Death had his Good and Evil Works put into two Scales by St. *Michael*, his Good Works were weighed down so by his Evil, that he had perished immediately, if the blessed Virgin had not in time thrown a *heavy Rosary* into the Scale his Good Works were in; with which that Scale weighed down the other. This Miracle was devised to recommend the use of the *Rosary*, and which it could not but do, where, upon its Authority, the *Rosary* was believed to have the weight of many good Works in it, and so saving a Vertue. And St. *Tugulus* being said to have killed the Devil, must have an ill influence on Religion with all that believe it.

Now if the Miracles I have here instanced in, be either too Useless, or too Impious, or too Ludicrous, or too Ungodly to be believed, as one would think they should by all that dare examine them, it is the very same with all the other Miracles that are said to be wrought in the *Roman Church*; which will all come under one of these Characters; neither

neither are any of them better attested than these are, that of the famous *Itinerant Chapel* of *Loretto* not excepted; no nor those of some Saints after they were Beheaded, having taken their Heads up in their Hands, and run a considerable way with them.

As to the constant and standing Miracles which are confidently affirmed to be in the *Roman Church*, were there nothing else to discredit all their reports of daily Transient Miracles, those pretended standing Miracles would alone be sufficient to do it. Such are that of *St. John Baptist*, and of other Saints natural Heads, being whole and intire in divers Churches, and in which every one of them is said to have wrought Miracles to demonstrate its being the true Head. And that of the boiling up of our blessed Lord's Blood every *Good Friday* at *Marseilles*, in the Bottle in which it was brought to that City by *Mary Magdalene*. And that of the Image of *St. Genoveve* being carried out in a Procession, helping *Paris* and the Country about it to Rain, when it is much wanted; with twenty more such pretended standing Miracles; the managery of which Rarities, by those which have the shewing of them, is so manifest, that I am told, that there is not a sensible disinterested *Roman Catholick* in *France* or *Italy*, whose Breast is not filled with Indignation to see the World so grossly imposed on by Crews of Deceitful and Self-

Self-interested Men. Neither can the ill Consequences which such pious Frauds have on the Minds of those that know them to be such, and know nothing of any Religion besides Popery, be sufficiently lamented.

But so long as those Frauds are to the great profit of those that have the managery of them, believed by the Generality, and they that don't believe them dare not openly say a word against them; let what will be secretly the Consequence of their being continu'd, they will be kept up and maintained in defiance of all Evidences of their being Frauds.

A yet farther Evidence that the Miracles which are said to be wrought in the *Roman Church* ought not to be believed, is, That when Miracles are pretended to be wrought with never so great Confidence, to determine where the truth lies, in Controversies among themselves; those bold Pretences are not only disregarded by the side they are levelled against, but they are treated with the last Scorn and Contempt.

So in the long Controversie which has been betwixt the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, concerning the *Immaculate Conception*, tho' hundreds of Miracles are said to have been wrought to confirm the truth of that Doctrine, the *Dominicans*, by whom it is deny'd, do nevertheless still stand their ground; neither are they more shaken in that their Opposition,

sition, by those loud reports of Miracles, than they would be if they were told by old Women, as wrought by the Queen of Fairies. It is true, in the early days of this Controversie, the *Dominicans* gave out too, that they had Miracles wrought on their side, hoping by that means to have kept the *Franciscan* Doctrine from having been spread by such Reports. But the *Franciscans* having now got all the other Popish Orders, and all the Universities, and all the Princes, and almost all the People too on their side; the *Dominicans* are afraid to make use of that Weapon against such great Numbers; and so do complain of it as no lawful Weapon.

So in the Conclusion of a *Supplication* made not many Years ago by the *Dominicans*, it is said, *Nec nos ad Apochriphas Apostolorum definitiones, ad confictas Revelationes, ad somniata Miracula, ad Bullas adulteratas, recurrimus. We have no recourse to Apocriphal Apostolical Definitions, nor to feigned Revelations, nor to Dreams of Miracles, nor to spurious Bulls.* Plainly intimating, That their Adversaries, in this Controversie, had made use of all those vile Arts; as in truth they had, and do still, as much as ever.

To give here a short Character of that Controversie; that Side which pretends so many Miracles have been wrought for it, has a Cause the least capable of being honestly

nestly defended, of any that I ever knew in my whole Life; and which is therefore supported by the strength of Numbers, and by shameless pretences to Miracles, to supply the want of other Evidences. And should any be willing to know what it is that makes the *Dominicans* stand out thus against that *pious Opinion*, as it is called, in contradiction to the whole *Roman Church* almost? He may be truly told, That it is neither for that Doctrines being New, nor for its being False; but the true reason of it is, that Doctrine was first devised by *Scotus*, who was a *Franciscan* Friar; and in contradiction to *Thomas Aquinas*, the great Oracle and Idol of the *Dominican Order*. And as it was the honour of their Order that did first engage the *Dominicans* in that Opposition, so it is the same that still holds them in it, though they are come to be great sufferers by it, and which was not foreseen before they were gone too far in that Controversie, to retreat with Honour. For besides that they have lost the hearts of the People, who in most places are wonderfully devoted to that new Doctrine; they have lost also all the Divinity Chairs in the Universities, and are rendered by it incapable of taking Degrees in any of them, there being no Popish University at this time, which does not require a Subscription to the truth of the *Immaculate*

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Conception, from all, on whom they confer Degrees. But to return.

In that Schism in the Papacy, which lasted forty Years, though none of the Popes did pretend to prove their Title to the Chair of *Rome* by the working of Miracles; yet under their several Obediences, many Miracles were reported to have been wrought, for Testimonies of their being all true Bishops of *Rome*, though that was not possible. But so little were those Miracles believed or regarded, that none of those Popes, when their Titles came to be all declared void by a Council, did think it worth their while to mention any of those Miracles, which were said to have been wrought in their favour. And in the late Wars betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Portugueses*, abundance of Miracles were confidently reported by the latter to have been wrought both in *Europe*, and in the *Indies*, in confirmation of the Duke of *Braganza's* Title to their Crown. But the *Spaniards* knowing full well, how little Credit such Reports do deserve, did scorn to take any notice of them. And though the People of *Portugal* did, and to this Day do believe all those Miracles, yet the Court of *Portugal* never had the Courage once to mention any of them at *Rome*, to persuade the Popes to favour their King's Title; though for six and twenty Years together they had used all the other Arguments they could think
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of to have persuaded them of it. And thus the Papists do teach Protestants to despise the most confident reports of Miracles being wrought among them; all reports of this kind, in disputes among themselves, though raised and spread with never so great Assurance, not being, by those they fight against, judg'd worthy of the least notice, unless it be either to detest the falshood of the Devils, or to pity or laugh at the Credulity of all that believe them.

The last Evidence I shall produce of the Miracles which are said to be wrought in the *Roman Church* not deserving any regard, is, That most of them, and which are as well attested as the rest, are by some Learned Papists acknowledged to be nothing but bold Lies and Impostures devised for one base end or another to deceive the People.

So *Lyranus*, in the Fourteenth Chapter of *Daniel*, saith, *Et similiter aliquando fit in Ecclesia maxima deceptio Populi Miraculis fictis a Sacerdotibus, vel eis abhærentibus, propter Lucram temporale.* So likewise in the Church, the People are sometimes very much deceived by Miracles which are forged by the Priests, or by their Adherents for worldly Lucre.

And *Wicelius* in his Sermon on, *Believe not every Spirit*, saith *Hic non possum non flens testari, Ethnicos hac in re nobis olim fuisse cautiores, nos omnia hodie Miracula, atque a-*

deo Oracula, statim recipimus, modo Lucri aliquid promittant. Here I cannot but testify with Tears, that the Heathens were anciently more cautious in these matters, than we are; for at this time, we do presently receive all Miracles, and so Oracles likewise, if they promise us any gain.

And *Schultingius* in his *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, saith, *Vetus & justa est hæc omnium Doctorum hominum querela, veritati Ecclesiasticæ, tam multa admixta fuisse mendacia, quæ magnopere Fidem & Auctoritatem ejus Historiæ elevant. It has been the ancient and just complaint of all Learned Men, that so many Lies have been mixed with Ecclesiastical Truth, as do very much weaken the Faith and Authority of that History.* And among those Lies he reckons the Story of the Emperor *Constantine the Great's Leprosie*, which together with its miraculous Cure, was the ground that Emperour's Donation of the City of *Rome* to the Pope stood upon: And which forged Donation was by the Popes made use of with good Success to establish their Authority in *Italy*; though it is now slighted by them, because they do not stand in need of it, and because its forgery is so palpable.

And *Carolus Guyetus*, a Jesuit, in his third Book *de Festis*, saith, *Referta sunt Apocryphis non pauca in plerisque Ecclesiis olim; nescio annon etiam nunc, in aliquibus usitata. Anciently, not a few of the Offices in most Churches,*
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were filled with Apocryphal Stories, that is of Miracles, and which may, for any thing that I know, be used in some Churches still. And in the Fifth Chapter of the same Book he saith again, *Non inficior, multa in plerisque Sanctorum Legendis, quos vocant, reperire ludicra, absurda, & quod amplius est, a vero prorsus aliena, gravibusque imprimis parachronismis implicata.* I do not deny, but that there may be many things, meaning Miracles, found in most of the Saints Legends, as they call them, which are ludicrous and absurd, and which is more, are palpably false, being involved in monstrous false Dates.

Melchior Canus, the Learned Bishop of the Canaries, in his Eleventh Book *De Locis Theologicis*, makes the following heavy complaint of the Miracles which are reported to be wrought in the Roman Church, *Dolenter hoc dico, potius quam contumeliosè, multo a Laertio severius vitas Philosophorum scriptas, quam a Christianis vitas Sanctorum; longeque incorruptius & integrius Suetonium res Cæsarum exposuisse, quam exposuerint Catholici, non res dico Imperatorum, sed Martyrum, Virginum & Confessorum. Illi enim in probis, aut Philosophis, aut Principibus, nec vitia nec suspiciones vitiorum tacent, in improbis etiam colores virtutum produnt. Nostri autem plerique vel affectibus inserviunt, vel de industria quoque, ita multa confingunt, ut eorum me nimirum, non solum pudeat, sed etiam tædeat.* In illo enim,

Miraculorum monstra sæpius quam vera Miracula legas; hanc auream sc. Legendam homo scripsit, ferrei oris, plumbei cordis, animi certe parum severi & prudentis. I say this with sorrow rather than contumeliously, that the Lives of the Philosophers are written by Laertius with more strictness than the Lives of the Saints are by Christians; and the Histories of the Cæsars are set forth by Suetonius with more Integrity and Incorruption than the Histories, I do not say of Emperors, but of Martyrs, Virgins, and Confessors, are published by Catholicks. For in the Good, whether Philosophers or Emperours, they do not conceal their Vices, nor the suspicions of Vices: And in the Bad, they take notice even of the colours of Vertues; whereas most of ours serving their affections do feign so many things, that I am not only ashamed of them, but am sick with them. And speaking of the Golden Legend, he saith, In it monsters of Miracles are read for the most part rather than true Miracles. And as to the Author on that Miraculous History, he saith, He was a Man of an Iron Mouth, and of a Leaden Heart, and of a Mind of very little Strictness or Prudence.

Now till the Roman Church can shew us, that some of the Miracles which are said to be wrought in her, are better attested than the bulk of them is, by the Confession of so many of her own Learned Members; she has no reason to be angry with Protestants for believ-

believing them to be all alike; that is, bold Lies and Impostures imposed upon the credulity of Ignorant and Superstitious People.

Now, is it not well for the *Roman Church*, as I have elsewhere observed, that she has great Wealth, Authority, and Splendor, to beget and maintain a Reverence for her: Since were it not for those dazzling Advantages, her shameless Falshood in devising Miracles, and her People's scandalous Credulity in believing them, together with her Images, and Processions; and her Treasures of Relicks and Indulgences, and her monstrous Legends; would certainly with all thinking Men, make her the most despicable, and ridiculous Sect of Religion in the whole World. And as the *Roman Church's* Beauty is all without, so let her Members be but in Countries where their Eyes are not dazled with it, or where they are not fed continually by Friars, with fresh Stories of Miracles being wrought by one Image, or Saint, or another, and of the great Vertue of some Relicks, or of some other Superstitious Utensils, in a short time their Religion is lost, and they do with much Ease go over to that of the Country where they are: And tho' to prevent such Apostacies, the *Roman Church* has an Order of Friars, whose business it is to ransom all her Members, who are Captives among Infidels; and which Captives, tho' very seldom with any of the Pope's Money, are commonly ran-

som'd by them once in three or four Years; there are nevertheless in *Barbary*, and in *Turkey* more Renegado's of the *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *Portuguese* Nations, than of all other Western Christian Countries besides; notwithstanding more *English* and *Dutch* are taken by those Infidels, and are kept longer by them in Slavery, than any Popish Captives does expect, or needs to be detain'd. But tho' these Friars, who are the Trinitarians, do go as Merchants into *Barbary* with Money to ransom the Captives of their several Nations, they are the only Friars that go thither, and who when they are there, do not say one Word to the Renegadoes, nor to no other *Mahometans* about the changing of their Religion; and indeed, considering how near *Barbary* is to *Spain*, and that on the Sea Coast most of its Inhabitants do understand, and speak *Spanish* well, none of the *Roman* Missionaries ever offering to look into that neighbouring Region of Infidels, does not a little discredit their boasting, *That, of all Provinces none are so earnestly sought after by the Missionaries as those are, where they know their Lives will be exposed to the most Danger.* For it is well known, that Missionaries can go no where, where they will be so certain of meeting with that Reward for their Labours, which, they say, they desire so much; as in *Barbary*, which is at their Doors.

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And is it not the same with Protestant Countries ; for tho' *England, Ireland, and Holland*, are full of *Romish* Priests and Friars, because in all of them there are many rich People of their Religion, to harbour and entertain them. *Sweedon, and Denmark*, in which it is known they will not meet with those Conveniencies, do seldom or never see any. And in the *Indies*, the great Scene of their boastings, they do seldom go any farther than the *Portuguese* or *Spanish* Arms or Interest, do reach to cover them : Or if any of them do go farther, they go as Mathematicians, rather than Missionaries, and by complying with the Religious Rites of the Natives, do seem rather to have turned Heathens themselves, than to have done any thing towards the converting of the *Indians* to Christianity.

It is true, whilst they were protected by some Princes in *Japan*, they had made a great Progress in that *Empire* ; but when all Christians came to be banish'd out of it upon Pain of Death, as few of the *Roman* Missionaries did remain there, so few or none of them have ever looked into it since. And it appears from the *Japan* Martyrology, printed at *Rome*, that the much greater part of the Christians, which are said to have suffered Death there, were *Japanees* Converts ; most of the *European* Missionaries having either got away, or hid themselves ; so that
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of the *Portuguese* Nation, to whom that Mission belonged, and who by their having been discovered at work to put the Sea-ports of that Empire into the hands of their Country-men, had raised that Persecution; not above three or four are said to have suffered Death for their Religion by the hands of publick Justice. The rest of the *Europeans* that suffered, having been *Italians* and *Spaniards*, and who though they were more in Number than the *Portugueses*, who suffered Death, yet were not many; though we should be so civil to them in *Europe*, as to believe all their reports concerning that Persecution. For as I have elsewhere observed, when any *Spanish*, *French*, or *Italian* Missionaries have gone into the *East-Indies*, for the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* will not suffer any of them to go into the *West*, tho' there is work enough there for all that can go; the *Portuguese* Prelates to whom the conduct of the *East-India* Missions was committed, were so civil to those Strangers, as contrary to the custom in War, to give them always the Posts of Honour, contenting themselves with the Missions which did promise the most Profit, and did appear to have the least Danger.

But as the great and general end for which the *Roman* Church allows and authorizes the reports of so many Miracles being wrought in her, is by them to keep her People under

der an absolute bondage of Thought in all Matters of Religion : So the Authors of such Reports have likewise their own private ends in them, having in their Eye either their *Own*, or their *Orders*, or their *Countries Profit or Honour*. And this is so visible to all that live among them, and observe how such Matters are managed, that there is no room left for to doubt of it.

For as in most Rich and Populous Popish Cities and Towns, there is but one Image of our Lady, at a time, that has the great vogue of working Miracles; and by which Fame the Convent that has it, is in a short time strangely enriched; so the Inquisitors, with the Ordinary in Name, having now got the giving and establishing of that miraculous Fame into their Gift, they do commonly settle it in the place which can make the best Friends to them. And as most Convents, and especially those that are Poor, do labour hard after it, so to qualifie themselves to receive it, if the Inquisitors should be pleased to bestow it upon them, they have all Miracles, which have been wrought by their several Images laid up in store against that happy Hour; and which if there should be that occasion for it, will have as many Vouchers for their truth, as there are Monks or Friars in the Convent, and People much devoted to that Image.

And

And of the Convents having this profitable Fame, as it were intailed upon them, to the Exclusion of all the Images in Parish Churches, I have heard more than one Parish Priest complain, exaggerating it as a great Wrong done to the Seculars, who they said are of *St. Peter's* Order, by the Regulars, who had lesser Saints for their Founders.

Having gone one Day with the Envoy of *England*, to see the Church of *St. Loio* near *Lisbon*, the Rector shewed us a Tomb-Stone, under which he said there laid a great Saint of that House, who since his Death had wrought many Miracles. And being asked by the Envoy, *Whether he had been Canonized*; he said, *He had not; but that their Order had long endeavoured to have had it done; and that it had cost the Convent so much Money, that they were not able to go on with the new Buildings which they had begun.* And the Envoy seeming to wonder at that, the Prior said, very honestly, *Were he but once Canonized, we should be reimbursed with Interest.*

The pretended Revelations made to some weak, or distempered Women; for to that Sex the new Revelations in the *Roman* Church are said commonly to be given; are likewise an Engine that Church makes great use of to bring her Peoples Minds under an absolute Bondage to her. Such were the Revelations of *Bridget*, *Catharine of Sienna*,
Teresa,

Teresa, but above all, of *Maria de Jesus*, who lived in this Age. Which Revelations, though they do all labour under the same Evidences of their being Impostures, with that Church's Miracles, yet being universally believed by the People, they have the same Effects on their Minds, as if they were true; and are entertained by them as undeniable Proofs of the Doctrines taught or professed by the Persons who had those Revelations. Neither is this the only Advantage, though it is a great one, that the *Roman* Church receives from her now and then giving Countenance to such pretended new Revelations: For by this single Art, she has, among Ignorant and Enthusiastical People, acquired the unjust Reputation of encouraging a sublime, inward, spiritual Worship; and of having in her Communion the Means by which such a Worship may be arrived at. The Women who were reported to have had those new Revelations, being represented to the World as Persons of a Seraphical Devotion, and which is highly extolled in the Books which are written and published under those Womens Names. So you shall scarce meet with an Enthusiast in any Sect of Religion, that have read any of those Books, who is not brought by them to have a more favourable Opinion of the *Roman* Church, than they would otherwise have had; either not knowing, or not considering, that though
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the *Roman* Church does for this End now and then suffer mystical Divinity, and the magnifying of an Internal and Spiritual Way of Worship in Persons shut up in a Cloister, under the Managery of a cunning Confessor; yet that there is not any thing that Church sets her self so much to hinder, as the prevailing of that way of Worship; being sensible, that the dead bodily Performances in Worship, out of which the main of her Profits do arise, would be all slighted and laid aside, if an inward Spiritual Worship did once obtain among her People, as the most acceptable to God. And of this the severe Treatment the *Illuminados* met with in *Spain* in the last Age; and the *Quietist*, namely, Father *Michael Molina*, and the Bishop of *Cambrai* met with in this from the Pope and his Inquisitors, is an undeniable Proof.

Now how such new Revelations, and the Persons who were said to have had them, and the Books which are published under their Names, and are managed by the Pope and his Agents thus to their double Advantage, will I think, manifestly appear, from a late famous Sample I will give of them all, in an Appendix to this Treatise.

Here it will not, I believe, be unpleasant to observe, how much distracted the Popes are, betwixt the Reproach they find lying on them by reason of miraculous Reports; and their Interest to allow and support them.

Urban

Urban the VIIIth endeavoured to have split this Hair, by having in the Year 1625, in the Congregation of the *Roman* Universal Inquisition, prohibited the Printing of Books containing the *Acts*, *Miracles*, or *Revelations* of any that had been eminent for Sanctity, or that had the Fame of having been Martyrs, without the Recognition and Approbation of the Ordinary : Declaring, That Books published without that, should not be reckon'd to be approved of. And which Decree was in the Year 1633, so explained by the same Pope, as to prohibit the Elogies of Saints, or of any that are beatified, which do fall absolutely on their *Persons*, to be published, without a Protestation of the Author's, printed in the beginning of the Book; declaring those Elogies not to have any Authority from the *Roman Church*, but to have their Authority only from their Authors. And where it is said, That this Prohibition shall not extend to Miraculous Elogies, so far as they relate to *Manners*, or to *Opinions*.

Now as this Decree plainly shews the Popes not to be very easy under the Scandal of miraculous Reports, and that they would, if it were possible shake and ward it off; so it shews likewise, that that is not to be done, but by a Course which the Popes will never take, which is to prohibit all such Reports. For as this Decree leaves the Legends of the *Roman Church* where they were before, they
having

having been all printed with the Recognition and License of Ordinaries ; and as all the Books were, in which the Miracles are recorded, which I have here quoted ; so it has left two wide Doors open for all such miraculous Reports ; to wit, that of *Manners*, and that of *Opinions*. Neither are those which do fall only on Mens Persons, forbid to be raised or talked of as they were before, no nor to be printed neither, provided they have the above-mentioned Protestation before them, and which Protestation signifies nothing with Legendary Readers, by whom all Relations of Miracles and Visions are swallowed down greedily, upon the bare Authority, which their being printed gives them ; besides, the Ordinaries, or their Deputies do seldom or never deny their Licenses, when they are desired, to any such Stories ; reckoning, that whether they be true or false, being believed, they will strengthen the Faith, and increase the Devotion of their Flocks. Lying for GOD, who neither wants it, nor desires it, having never been any way reckoned so meritorious as it is in the Church of *Rome*.

Now next after Interest, it is to the belief of this Practice's being lawful, that the Church of *Rome* does owe her immense Treasure of monstrous lying Signs and Wonders ; and which, though they are known to be Lies, not only by their first Devisors, but by all
since

since that have impartially considered them, are notwithstanding, upon this Foot, supported by false Reasons, and Inquisition Arguments as pious Frauds, that do produce good Effects.

So all that know the Evidences that are of the Story of the *Itinerant* Chapel of *Loretto* being false, and yet don't for all that believe this to be its Case, must if they don't dissemble, have got the convenient Faculty of believing, or not believing what they have a mind to : Or if such a Faculty be not possible, as I don't think it is, they must then needs reckon, that their not suffering themselves actually to disbelieve any thing, is to believe it. And so that which they call Belief in such Cases, is purely that Act of their Will, whereby their Understandings, since they cannot believe as they would have them, is powerfully with-held, from acting at all.

And that the Popes having put this Matter under this Regulation, has given no great Check to the Itch of reporting and printing such Miracles ; appears manifestly from the Lives of *Santa Rosa*, and of divers other Saints, which have been printed since the making of this Decree. And which new Lives are as full of Reports, of absurd and ridiculous Miracles, as the Golden Legend it self is. Neither indeed, considering how such Reports are many times supported with

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great

great Heat and Violence by whole Orders of Monks and Friars, and sometimes by Princes or great Cities, for one secular End or another, is it possible for the Popes without absolutely condemning all such Reports, and which none of them will ever do, to bring the Printing of them under such a Government, as they for their Honour would gladly have them under.

However, the Popes finding that they cannot have the Advantages of Reports of Miracles, without having the Scandal of them too; rather than have neither, they will have both; and so having done something, that with unthinking People, will look like a Restraint, such Reports go on with as full a Gale as ever. And so they will in spite of all Prohibitions, where ever Image-Worship is, and which is therefore called in the Scriptures a *Lye*; for having such *Lyes* as these are in all Places, *Popish* as well as *Pagan*, for its Supporters. And for this Reason Pope *Urban* out of his great Kindness for Images, did take care by this Decree not to lay any Restraint on the Miracles which are daily reported to be wrought by them; being sensible that Image-Worship, in the *Popish*, as well as in the *Heathen* World, owes its Rise and Continuance chiefly to such Reports. For had Men never been so far deluded as to believe some Images to have a Power in them, however they came by it, supe-

superiour to human Power, they would never have stooped so low as to have worshipped them.

So *Cyrus* adored and worshipped his Idol *Bellevery* Day, whilst he believed that Image did every Day eat twelve great Measures of fine Flower, and forty Sheep, and did every Day drink six Vessels of Wine. But when that King came to understand the Report of his Idol's eating and drinking to be a Cheat, he left it, as an unprofitable piece of Wood, to its Enemy *Daniel* to destroy; and they who had eat and drank so long for it, were all slain for their Imposture. And so though it may not perhaps be unlawful to have Images in the Place of Prayer, as *Books* or *Memorials* only, it is certainly very dangerous. A reverence for Images on the account of the Persons whom they represent, being apt to slide insensibly into a Disposition to adore them; and by which Disposition, Stories of their extraordinary Works will easily be believed. And for this Reason in the Scriptures, a *Molten Image*, is called a *Teacher of Lyes*, devised of a great in-dwelling Power in it, by its *Demetrius's* to encourage its Worship; and of which Men would otherwise be ashamed, as of a thing infinitely below the Dignity of their Nature.

By these Means it is that the Unlearned in the *Roman Church* are held under that absolute Bondage of Thought in all Matters of

Religion, which keeps them from ever coming to the Knowledge of her Anti-Christianism.

And as to the learned Men of that Church, whose Learning lies in the Scriptures, and in Ecclesiastical Antiquities, if that Anti-christianism be not visible to them ; I know not to what to impute that, unless it be either to their Minds, being blinded by strong Carnal Prejudices ; or to their being visited with a Judicial Spiritual Blindness, because they receive not the Love of the Truth, that they might be saved ; having shut their Eyes against it, that they might not see it.

But if such learned Men do by their Studies come to the Knowledge of the Truth, as we have Reason to believe most of them do ; and yet do, notwithstanding that, continue still in the Communion of the *Roman* Church ; since Charity will not allow us to impute that, to their being of no Religion, and that they do therefore stick close to the Profession of Popery, from which they do hope to reap the greatest earthly Advantages, tho' that is known to have been the Case of some of their Popes, and the Court of *Rome* has long been suspected of having the Spots of the Plague of Irreligion upon it ; some other Cause must be found for that Behaviour ; neither are we at a Loss to find one in Fact : Which is, that those learned Men, tho' they are sensible of the Errors and Corruptions

ruptions which are in the *Roman Church*, and do wish heartily they were all reformed, yet knowing at the same Time, that Church's great Power, and how inflexibly obstinate she is made by her Pretence to Infallibility, they are afraid that cannot be done, without bringing the Affairs of Religion, and of the World, into great Disorders. For fear of which they endeavour to work their Minds into a Belief that those Errors and Corruptions, tho' they are great, yet may not be of so damnable a Nature, but that they may be saved in the Communion of a Church they are in; and in which they continue only as in a lesser Evil, fearing lest a Remedy, if it were applied to them, might by reason of that Church's great Aversion to it, prove worse than the Disease.

And as the learned Father *Paul* is known to have been kept in this manner in the Communion of the *Roman Church*, so I have been told by a very learned Man, and who knew *France* well, that this is actually the Case of most of the Ecclesiastical Antiquaries in that Nation. Neither indeed can any read the Writings of most of those learned Men, without observing their Pulse to beat strong that way.

But as those Fears, considering the Greatness of the Popish Errors and Corruptions, can by no means justify those learned Men not coming out of her; so it is too probable,

that were it not for the Conveniencies which they do enjoy, or do hope for, in that corrupted, but rich Church, those Fears alone would not be strong enough to hold them long in her Communion; seeing they might, without raising Disturbances either in Church or State, retire to Protestant Countries, where they might serve God according to their Consciences. The Case of such learned Men in the *Roman* Church, being now nothing so hard as it was before the Reformation: and that their Case might be yet easier, it were to be wished, that they had the Encouragement of being sure to meet with a kind and civil Reception, in all Protestant Countries; and of being considered in them according to their Worth, without any Abatement, on the Account of their being Foreigners, or of their having been once Papists. For as none ought to be tempted only by worldly Views to turn Protestants, and of which considering the *Roman* Churches great Wealth, and numberless high Preferments, there can be no very great Danger; so none ought to be discouraged from doing it, by having no Reason to hope, that if they did turn, they should be regarded among us according to their Learning, and other Merits. And tho' the Arch-Bishop of *Spalato* might not perhaps be so honest, as he was learned; yet if any by envying him his Preferments in our Church, did make him uneasy

easy in her, I hope they repented of it, if they lived to see the ill Consequences of that unhappy Prelate's having returned to *Rome*, where his Heart was quickly discovered, by the sharp-sighted, and merciless Inquisitors, not to be with them, but to be still in our Church; and were likewise sensible how great a Discouragement that was to others of Learning, or of any Figure to come over to us. It were therefore to be wished, that all such learned Men, had among us, at least a Place to retreat to, where they would be sure of a comfortable Subsistence; and not to be left for that to the wide World. And were there a considerable Fund to be apply'd to the Use of Converting Papists, and for the Subsistence of Converts from Popery, until they were otherwise provided for; as there is now, praised be God for it, for the Use of Converting Infidels; I doubt not but our Church would, in a short time, find the good Effects of that Charity. And great Pity it was that the Design of this kind, relating to the *Greek Church*, which I have been told was set on foot by the Apostolical and Noble Bishop of *London*, whose Palace has always been the *Asylum* of all Converts, did not meet with due Encouragement.

For whatever any may think, or presume upon their having the Truth on their Side; so long as Protestants stand only on the Defensive, against a zealous, powerful, and

indefatigable Enemy, with a wealthy and politick Congregation established for the Propagation of Popery, they must needs, without a Miracle, be still losing ground. Neither is it easy to reconcile a due zeal for our Church, with a no concern for the Propagating of her Doctrines; which being the same with those of the Apostles, have been all confirmed by the Apostolical Miracles, and so do stand in no need of any pretences of new Miracles being wrought to further their Propagation; no nor of nothing else, but only of the zealous Endeavours of the Princes and Nations by which they are professed; among which, if it were but an universal and standing Law, to allow Papists all the same, but no more Liberties, than are allowed to Protestants in Popish Countries; by that means they would either procure more Liberty for Protestants abroad, or they would receive less hurt from Papists at home. And than this, can any Rule be more just and equal? Only in one thing God forbid that Protestants should ever use *Lex Talionis* with Papists, which is to set up Inquisitions, unless the Papists will pull theirs down.

But above all, it were to be wished, That the glory of being the *Head* and *Protector* of the *Whole Protestant Religion*, and which *Headship* devolves it self naturally on the Crown of *England*, were by all the Princes that wear that Crown, looked on as its
Richest

Richest and Brightest Jewel. It was reckoned to be so by the happy Queen *Elizabeth*, and it is the same now with our present most Gracious, and happy Sovereign; and on both whose Reigns, it has drawn from Heaven so many extraordinary and distinguishing Blessings, as are sufficient to recommend it so powerfully to all their Protestant Successors, as to oblige them to be *SEMPER EADEM*, or *Idem* to it; to the great Glory of God, to the Advancement of his holy Religion, and to the immortal Honour of the Crown of *England*, which without this great Jewel, can never be so Illustrious, nor make that great Figure in the World, that it does when it is adorned with it. And as it will always secure to our Princes the Hearts of their People, so it will make *England* the Praise of all Protestant, and a Terror to all Popish Governments; which have so long, and in so many parts, contrary to their Laws and Oaths, and the Faith of publick Treaties, trampled on the Reformation, without being controuled. And were Protestants, with their Divine and Reasonable Service, and with such a *Head* on Earth, all of one Mind in all Things; or if that cannot be, yet were all so united in Heart and Affection, as to forbear one another in Love; and were likewise all duly zealous for the Propagation of their Religion, Popery would no more be able to stand before the Protestant Worship, than

Dagon

Dagon was to stand before the Ark of the Living God: Idolatry being a Worship of too absurd and vile a Nature, to have any thing of a vital Strength in it self; and being entirely upheld by Ignorance, Lies, and Force, must, if those its Props were once removed, necessarily tumble down; and which Props, Protestants, if they were thus Headed, United, and Disposed, would find it no hard work to remove, and as thereby the Christian Worship would be brought to look every where like it self again, so were that once done, it would go far towards the reconciling of the *Jews* and *Mahometans* to it; in whose way to Christ, the Adoration of Images has long been an insuperable Stumbling Block; and to the latter, and greatest of which Two Sects, the introduction of Images into the Christian Church, and the Lies by which they were introduced, and came to be adored, did visibly give rise, and has ever since kept it in countenance.

Not that I will deny, That the common Herd of Pagans, were with the more ease brought to be Christians, such as they were, by the Christians having drawn them over to them insensibly, by taking up several of their Usages in Worship; namely, the two of adoring Images, and praying to more than one Being. But notwithstanding that, considering how contrary those two Heathenish

thenish Usages are, to the first Principles of that Worship which God did reveal to the World in the holy Scriptures. As that Oeconomy can by no means be justified, so it was certainly with all thinking People, a very great Disadvantage to the Christian Worship; by whom nothing in the revealed Religion was so much admired, as its teaching that there is but One God, and that God only is to be worshipped, and that in Spirit and in Truth, and not with Peoples Bodies only, and in Images; which have Lies always for their inseparable Companions. And since for that Reason, an Idol in the Scripture is called a Lye, it is not improbable, that our Lord's meaning when he commanded his Followers to worship God in Truth, might be, That they must not worship God by Images; whose Worship where-ever it is, was first introduced, and is still supported by Lies of their having wrought Miracles; and which Lies being believed by their Worshippers, do inspire them with a most furious Zeal against all that shall dare to despise their Miracle-working Idols. So *Micah* when he was robbed of his Images, was transported so, that he seemed to be robbed of his Wits too. And the People of *Ephesus*, if Saint *Paul* had set their City on Fire, could not have been in a greater Rage against him, than that was they were thrown into, by *Demetrius's* telling them, That Apostle had spoke against their Image,
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of the Goddess *Diana*; which Image did owe its Birth, and its being universally worshipped, to the Legendary Lye, of its having come, ready made, down from Heaven.

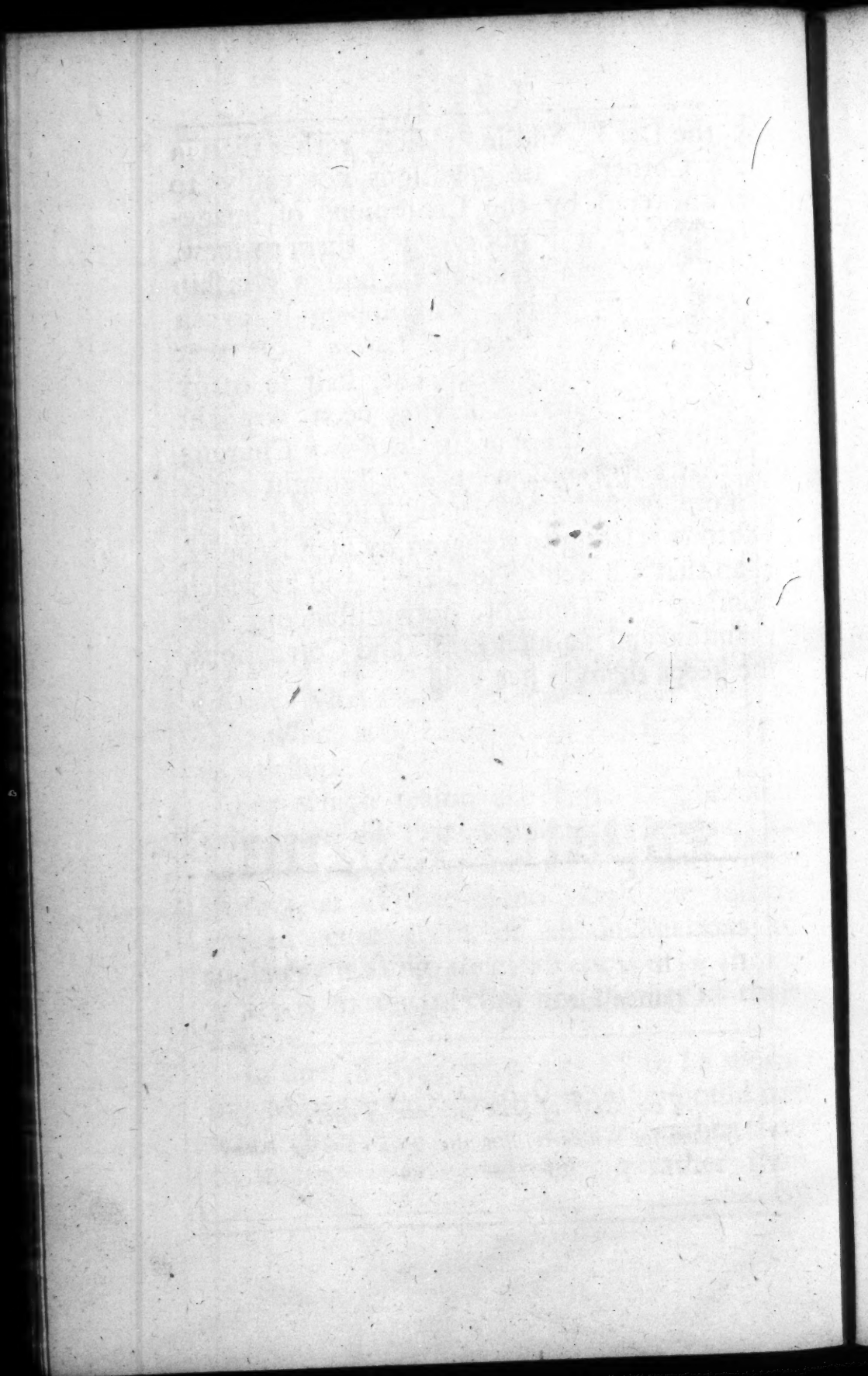
And so according to the words of the Prophet *Isaiah*, speaking of Image-Worshippers, *They feed of Ashes, a deceived Heart hath turned them aside, that they cannot deliver their Souls; nor say, Is there not a Lye on our right Hand.* Their Hearts being so wretchedly deceived by the belief of the Miracles which are said to have been wrought by their Right-hand, or dearest Idol, as to turn aside, and muzzle their Understanding so, that no Arguments that would deliver their Souls out of the vile bondage of Thought they are in, are able to reach them, so as to bring them to say, What a low and contemptible thing is this, which is by Lies put into my Right hand to worship.

For which reason the same Prophet did call upon all that worshipped Images, *To remember, that they are Men*; plainly intimating, as if that alone would be sufficient to cure them of all Inclinations to Idolatry, making them ashamed of a thing, which is so much below the Dignity of their Nature.

In fine, If God were pleased to be working Miracles continually, why he should not work them by Men or Women, rather than by Images? and by the Living rather than by

by the Dead? and in Publick, rather than in dark Corners? are questions not easily to be answered by the Champions of Image-Worship; as it is not easy for them to shew, That there can possibly be a higher Worship given to any thing, worshipping it as an Image, than a *Relative Latria*. Or that there ever was any where else, half so many Reports of Miracles having been wrought by Images, as there are in the *Roman Church*; or that any People were ever brought under a more perfect bondage of Thought, in all Matters relating to Religion by such Reports, than that Church's Sheep are: And by which bondage of Thought, notwithstanding her manifold and manifest Errors and Corruptions, she keeps them in her Fold.

The End of the Second Tract.



THE
L I F E
O F
Maria de Jesus
O F
A G R E D A,
A Late Famous
Spanish Nun,

By MICHAEL G'EDDES, L. L. D. and
Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-
Noster-Row. 1714.

THE

STANDARD

AGREED

A LANCET

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BY MICHAEL GREGG, L.D., and
Chancellor of the Church of England

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE following Account is that I promised in the foregoing Tract, for a fresh Example of the new pretended Revelations, wherewith the Roman Church enchants the best of her People in her corrupt Communion. I gathered it out of the Life of Maria de Jesus, the late famous Spanish Nun, written at large by Joseph Zimenez Samaniego, a Franciscan Friar, and which is printed before the Life of the blessed Virgin, said to have been writ by that Nun by Revelation. These two Lives are printed with the singular License, Approbation, and Applause of Superiours.

I have all through that Account made the best Remarks I was able on the passages in it, which I thought deserved any, and so have but one to make in this Place; which is, That it is hard to determine which is most monstrous, the Fore-heads and Consciences of the Men that write such Romances, and of those who do License, Approve, and Applaud them, on purpose to put them on the World for true Histories; or the Weakness and Stupidity of those who do,

Whilst *Mary* was an Infant, and not capable of being taught any thing by her Parents, that she might lose no time, God was pleased to constitute himself her Schoolmaster, with prodigious Favours. Her Understanding soon after she was born was illustrated by divine Lights, which of a sudden gave a Capacity to that Faculty; a force to her Will, and a retention to her Memory. Insomuch that she saw plainly, there was one principal Cause of all Causes. All humane Miseries were likewise clearly seen by her, to the forming in her Soul a very low conceit of her self. She then proceeded to know humane Nature in its first state of Innocency, and the beauty and effects of Grace. At last she saw the destruction which Sin had brought on Men, with the turpitude and horrid effects of that Evil.

This Knowledge in her tender Understanding, for she was not yet a Year old, was accompanied with strong affections in her Will; for she was so captivated by the beauty of the infinite divine Goodness, that she worshipped the infinite divine Majesty with the humblest adoration of her whole Soul; and by the Knowledge she had of her self, and of her own natural Misery, she sunk down to the centre of her own Nothingness. This was the first Lesson she was taught by her divine Master, and which she had learned perfectly, long before she was capable of learning her Letters.

When

When she came to hear and see Things, Vision ceased with her, so she stept down from passive Teaching to her Senses, and to the exercise of them: And making use of the Species of Light which she had received by Vision, and of the natural Things which had entred by her Senses, she began to discourse inwardly, and had in her mind the perfect use of Reason. She had thereupon infused into her the knowledge of all the Articles of Faith she was to believe, and of all the Commandments of the Law of Grace, and of the holy Church which was undoubtedly the *Roman*. And withal so great a knowledge of natural Causes, that she made a Ladder, and by that Ladder went up to their Creator. And having the first time she lifted up her Eyes, looked up to Heaven, she said, to her self, I suppose, for she could not speak yet, with a devout tenderness, *This is the House and the Habitation of the Lord, whom I know, and whom my Soul loves, how rich and beautiful is it, O magnify its Builder!*

The Edifice of the spiritual Life being to be raised to a great height in this Child, who was to be the *Biographer* of the Queen of Heaven; it was necessary to have its Foundations laid low, and strongly cemented by Afflictions; to that End, God for some Years did hide himself from *Mary*, withdrawing the Regalo's and Joys of his

Presence, with which he had entertain'd her, thro' her Infancy; neither did those Joys ever return to her, till a few Days after she had taken upon her the Habit of a Nun.

Upon this spiritual Desertion, which *Mary* looked on as a Judgment upon her, for having by some way or other offended God, she continued extreamly dejected; until by a Divine Light, and by Afflictions she was taught to seek after Heavenly Joys by Faith. She avoided all Company, and finding no Rest nor Comfort, but in Retirement, she hid her self in solitary Places; all earthly Entertainments, tho' never so Innocent, made her Melancholy, idle Conversations struck her Dumb; and Laughter was a thing she could not bear.

Her Parents, which is very strange, tho' they were both pretty much in the spiritual Way, having all this while never observ'd any thing in their Daughter that was Extraordinary, besides a wonderful depression and lowness of Spirit; they were both extreamly troubled at it, and looking on *Mary* as a Child, that would never be good for any thing, they used to say one to another, *What shall we do with this Creature, she will never be fit for the World, nor for Religion?* So artfully had the Child, out of her profound Humility, concealed her great Knowledge and Devotion from her Parents; who

who being utter strangers to her inside, resolved for the future to treat her with great Severity, to try if they could bring her to any thing. After this, they were still chiding the Child with great Sharpness, neither did they ever look upon her but with Disdain. By the Friar's leave, that writ this Romance, this was no proper method to cure a Child of an excessive Lowness and Dejection of Mind ; but this is not to be wonder'd at, no Romances being so full of such Blunders, as the Lives of the Popish Saints, whose dull, tho' cunning Authors, to the great Disparagement of their Hero's with all Judicious People, do many times relate very improper things of them.

The spiritual Desertion *Mary* was under, and the severe treatment she met with from her Parents, not being judged Affliction enough, to lay and cement a Foundation for so high a spiritual Edifice ; she was visited with so many painful Diseases and Infirmities, that she never had an hour's Rest. And being looked on by the whole Family as a Creature that gave them much Trouble, and was never like to be good for any thing, she had daily Contempt pour'd upon her by the Servants ; all which she bore with Patience, but especially after a Voice, upon her once having had a little Resentment, having said to her, *Mary, I have suffered more for you.*

Her Parents, tho' they had no encouragement to bestow any Pains or Cost upon her, yet being Conscientious People, they did not wholly neglect her Education, so they had her taught to Read, and put her to Schools to learn every thing that was proper for her Age and Sex: But tho' at all other works *Mary* was a very awkward Girl, in all Matters relating to Religion, her Progress was uncommon, tho' not so great neither as to make it perceivable, that she had been taught all those matters to Perfection in her Infancy. However her Mother was much pleased to see her Daughter so religiously disposed; and to encourage her, she gave her a little retir'd Place for an Oratory; in which *Mary* as soon as she had it, did set up a small Altar, and adorn'd it with Images.

Mary, after she had an Oratory, begun to hear a Voice within her, which she called her *Pole Star*: She often heard this Voice, and one Day it said to her, *My Spouse, turn thy self to me, and forsake that which is Earthly and Momentary. Rise up my Dove, and flee to me*: And so she did, having soon after made a Vow, she would be a Nun, to which Vow the blessed Virgin, *St. Joseph*, and some other Saints were Witnesses.

Mary, who hitherto had so carefully concealed her great Knowledge, and the prodigious Favours she had received from Heaven, that no Body had ever seen the least
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sign of them, came now to be taken notice of; for having gon to a Confessor, that was in the spiritual Way, he, tho' she was very young, did lanch her at first into the Way of Perfection; and having given her the Rules of Devotion prescribed by the greatest mystical Masters, they were all observed by her so punctually, that the Confessor stood amazed at it; and having spoke of her great progress in Devotion to others, that were in the same way; *Mary's* Fame, to her great Mortification, was spread over the whole Town. For there was nothing she dreaded so much, as People's coming to think she had any thing good in her, that was extraordinary: And so a grave Priest, having at this time told her Parents, that he had always reverenc'd their Daughter *Mary*, having known her to be a Saint from the Day of her Birth, was the most sensible Affliction she had ever felt, tho' after her Name came to be so high, as we shall see it was, Afflictions of that sort did, it is like, become more supportable.

Mary, being now twelve Years old, and knowing that she might enter into Religion at that Age, she told her Parents she had a Call to it, and they having both given their Consent, did fully design to have placed her in the Nunnery of the Discalciate Carmelites in the City of *Tarazona*. I doubt our *Franciscan* Author's Invention did furnish him with
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this Story, on purpose to perswade the World of his Orders being higher in the blessed Virgin's Favour than the Carmelite, into which the Parents of the Writer of her Life, were resolved to have put their Daughter, if they had not been hinder'd from doing it by a Revelation. For whilst *Mary's* Father was treating with the Carmelites, for Treaties there must be, and Money too, to have a Child put into any Convent, *Cathalina*, *Mary's* Mother, as she was one Day at her Devotion, heard a Voice, saying to her, *It is my Will you sacrifice to me your Husband, your self and all your Children, and your Husband's whole Estate, and that you do turn your House into a Convent for Nuns, and enter into it your self, with your two Daughters, and your Husband and your two Sons shall take upon them the Habit of the Seraphical St. Francis Cathalina, tho' much amazed, made answer, my Family and I are always at the Disposition of your most holy Will ; but I am much afraid, that if I do speak of this, no Body will believe me, and that I shall never be able to get any Nuns to come into my Convent : The Voice reply'd, do you obey and you shall not want Nuns. Upon this Revelation, Cathalina went directly to her Confessor, who was a Franciscan Friar of a high Name in the spiritual Way ; and he having met Cathalina, told her before she had said a Word to him ; *I know what's your Business with me, and did relate her Revelation**

tion to her, Word for Word, and which he said was revealed to him in the same Minute.

Cathalina over-joyed at her having got so good a Voucher, went presently to her Husband, and acquainted him with the Revelation she had had : The old Gentleman gave but little heed to her Words, and being vehemently pressed by his Wife, and his Daughter *Mary*, he became so averse to it, that nothing could have perswaded him, if his Wife's Confessor, of whom he had an high Opinion, had not come and assur'd him, that in the same Minute his Wife received that Command from Heaven, it was revealed to him, that she had received it in that manner. Upon which Testimony of the Truth of his Wife's Revelation, the old Gentleman yielded, and did declare it should be obeyed in every particular. For the lending of which Testimony to that Revelation; which otherwise would never have been believed, the *Franciscan* Order is much beholding to that Friar; for besides the noble Nunnery, and divers other great Advantages, that Order did, by this means, get a famous Proof of the Truth of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, the Idol Doctrine of the *Franciscans*, and which alone has raised them high above their Rivals the *Dominicans*, by whom that Doctrine is deny'd; after the old Gentleman's Consent was ob-

obtain'd, the Difficulties, but chiefly that of his Estate not being big enough for so great a Work, were so great, that it was three Years before *Cathalina*, and her Confessor could bring the thing to bear. But in that time the Fame of the Mother's Revelation, and of its being so strongly confirmed, and of the Daughter's extraordinary Devotion, having been spread and believed far and near, Supplies came in so from all Parts, that on the Sixteenth of *August* in the Year 1618. the Fabrick of that new Convent was begun, and by the beginning of *December* in the same Year it was finished, and on the Day of the Immaculate Conception, to which that Convent was dedicated, Mass was said solemnly in its Church: Three professed *Franciscan* Nuns, of the Order of the Immaculate Conception, were brought from *Burgos*, and put into it; and *Cathalina* and her two Daughters having taken the Veil upon them, the Community was formed; the Husband and the two Sons having taken the *Franciscan* Habit upon them at the same time, in the Convent of *St. Antonio de Nalda*.

Mary, during the Year of her Noviciate, and sometime after she had taken the Vows, is said to have made a great Progress in the spiritual Way, amidst direful Temptations; for besides that she was never free from one painful Distemper or other; to keep her humble, the Devil received a large Commission
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to tempt and torment her, and which was executed by him in a most dreadful manner : Sometimes he appeared to *Mary* in her Retirements in the Form of the most terrible Creatures, and sometimes in the Form of a dead Man ; but the way by which he tormented her the most sensibly was by using filthy and lascivious Words. Words! saith *Mary* her self, which ought never to be repeated, but buried in eternal Oblivion: And sometimes he lay upon her with so heavy and unsupportable a Weight, that her Breath was ready to have gone out of her Body ; so that if it had not been for the extraordinary Assistances and Consolations which she had now and then from Heaven, she must certainly have perished in this Combate by these terrible Temptations, and her bodily Infirmities, which still continued, and her continual Exercises of Devotion and Disciplines, *Mary* was so disabled, that the Lady Abbess and the other two old Nuns, were highly displeased with her, commanding her upon Pain of being deny'd the Communion, not to pray, fast and discipline her self so immoderately, nor to be much alone. What ever the matter was, they were so cross to her, that she could never have a good Word nor a good Look from them ; and tho' she strived to obey them in all things, they were still finding fault with every thing she said and did ; and so far were they carried in this Matter by

by the Suggestions of Satan, that they employed her all the Hours of the Day, which did not belong to the Community, in one impertinent Work or other in their Presence: neither did they allow her to confess her self above twice a Week, nor to spend above half a quarter of an Hour at it.

But whereas all the extraordinary Favours *Mary* had hitherto received from Heaven, were Interiors, and had never been observed by any body; she now, to her great Grief, began to have Exteriors communicated to her; to wit, violent Raptures, which could not be concealed: Tho' *Mary*, when she found them coming upon her, out of her great Humility, did strive to have hindered them 'till the Blood gushed out of her Mouth and Nose: these Raptures of *Mary's*, who was now eighteen Years old, did look so like Hysterical Fits, into which some naughty Girls have thrown themselves, when they had a mind to it, that the Lady Abbess and the other two old Nuns, who were called the Founders, were extreemly angry with her. Some of them said it was a Trick, others said it was Folly in her, but they all agreed that she deserved to be severely chastiz'd for it, and to be deny'd the Communion, and the Retirement of her Cell.

On this Occasion *Mary's* Soul was combated by different Affections; it was a sharp Affliction to her to have the heavenly Secrets

crets of her Spirit, which she had so long concealed, come now to be divulg'd by inevitable Exteriors; but at the same time it was no small Joy to her to hear her Female Superiors, attribute all her Raptures to Nature, or to her Folly, or to something that was worse. But she had much greater Comforts at this time; for in one of her Raptures, she was visited by the blessed Virgin with the Child Jesus in her Arms, who stretched out his Hand to her: And in another she was visited by the Holy Ghost in the Form of a white Pigeon, and yet notwithstanding all these great Comforts and Honours, *Mary* being still afraid, that such Exteriors from Heaven, would draw the Eyes and the Admiration of the World after her, she prayed fervently not to have any more, but she was not heard. For according to her Fears, the Fame of her frequent divine Raptures was spread over the whole Town and Country, by her Confessor, and other *Franciscan* Friars; who when they are so happy as to have a Nun of their Order, that has violent Hysterical Fits, do, for very substantial Reasons, seldom or never fail to endeavour to put them on the World for divine Raptures. The Truth is, it is from such Fits, that all the Revelations of their Nuns do at first arise. So on this Occasion *Mary's* Confessor went presently to work, and having called the Father Guardian of the *Franciscan*

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Convent in *Ageda* to his Assistance, they both declar'd, that upon a strict Examination they found something in *Mary's* Fits that were more than natural. But having been contradicted in it, by the Lady Abbess and her Sisters, to silence those unbelieving Nuns, the Confessor writ a full Account of that Matter to the Provincial of his Order, to whose Judgment, which he had Reason to believe would be the same with his own; he knew the Lady Abbess and her Sisters durst not but submit. This poor Lady Abbess, and the other Nuns, are severely lash'd by our *Franciscan* Writer, for this their Refractoriness: He accuses them of having still opposed the way of this Servant of God, meaning *Mary*, and of their having carried their Enquires into her Raptures farther than Prudence did allow. I suppose he means for the Advantage of their Convent and Order, and not in the search of Truth.

The Provincial having been inform'd how that whole Matter stood, and perceiving that nothing but his Authority could put a stop to the Impertinency of those imprudent Nuns, who still insisted on *Mary's* Raptures being nothing else but violent Hysterical Fits, and into which they did believe she sometimes industriously threw herself; he, for all his high Post, judg'd this to be an Affair not unworthy of a Journey to *Ageda*; and having accordingly gone thither in Person, he did
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after a strict Examination of that whole Matter, as it is said, solemnly pronounce *Mary's* Fits to be supernatural, and certainly divine Raptures, to the eternal silencing the Lady Abbess and her Sisters, who one would think were as good Judges of Womens Distempers as Friars, a Provincial not excepted, and who in his Examination of those Fits did not, that we read of, make use of any Physician, and which if he had done we should certainly have heard of it; but tho' the highest Posts cannot give Skill in such Cases, yet the bold Authority of Superiors, and the implicate Obedience of Subjects in the *Roman Church*, do cause such Matters to pass easier, than one can well believe that has not seen it.

The Evidences, whereon *Mary's* Fits were by the Provincial pronounc'd to be supernatural and divine Raptures, were, that she sometimes lay in them, as if she were dead, for two or three Hours, and did not seem to feel any Pain, when she was pinched, that her Body was sometimes raised, tho' never quite off the Ground, and was very light; and tho' her natural Complexion was tawny, in her Fits she looked as white as a Cherubin, that her Fits came upon her either after she had communicated, or when she was meditating on some of the high Mysteries of Religion, or when she heard Church Musick. Now whether supposing all these Facts be true, they do amount to a Demonstration

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of *Mary's* Fits having been Supernatural, and not Hysterical, Physicians can best judge.

Mary, contrary to her former customary Humility, rejoiced not a little in this Determination of the Provincial's ; who before he left *Agreda*, did with the Concurrence of her Confessor, frame such Rules for her to observe, as he judged to be proper for one that had long and frequent Raptures, and was for travelling apace in the spiritual Way, in which, it was no longer in the Power of the Lady Abbess to curb *Mary*, as she had done formerly ; but by her Fits, being both violent and frequent under the Regiment of the Provincial, she was so weakned, that she could neither go nor stand, and was carried in a Chair to the Communion. This great Weakness of *Mary's* continued until she was miraculously cured of it by an ancient Image of our Lady's, which she had brought from the *Franciscan* Convent to her Cell ; a Favour that is seldom done to any under the Degree of Princes. This Image is by the *Franciscans*, to whom it belongs, said to have been brought into *Spain* by some Christians, who afterwards were martyr'd in it, in the Time of the Emperour *Dacian* ; tho' it is certain, there was not a true Christian at that Time in the World, that would not have suffered an hundred Deaths rather than have adored any Image : But let that be as it will, that old Image did certainly acquire a new Reputation,

tion, by its being confidently reported that it had miraculously cured so great a Saint, as *Mary*, for her frequent Raptures, was now reckoned to be. And *Mary*, to give a good Example to others to carry Offerings to that Miracle-working Image, did her self on this Occasion make it a considerable Offering, and happy was the Person who had the Privilege of making the next. An Image, if it be believed to have wrought a new Miracle, being the making of any Convent; but tho' this was a considerable Service to the *Franciscans* in *Agrada*, it was nothing to that which she is said to have done next, to that whole Order; and which, being one of the strangest Successes, that was perhaps ever thrust into History, not to say Poetry, I shall here give a particular Account of it, as it is related in *Triumph* by the *Franciscans*, and is believed by all the People in *Spain* and *Portugal*; and that the Reader may see the clearer to the Bottom of it, it may not be improper to tell him before-hand, that the *Franciscan* Order, to whom the Conversion of the *Indies* at first chiefly belonged, had now every where been strangely run down by the Jesuits, as such sloathful Labourers in that great Vineyard, that for several Years they had not made a great Conversion in it: And which being, I doubt, true in Fact, the *Franciscans*, tho' they were extreamly impatient under that Reproach, did not find it an easy Mat-

ter to wipe it off, by bringing their *Indian* Missionaries, being of an old Order, which had an establish'd Reputation in the *Roman* Church, to take as much Pains as the *Jesu-its*, whose Order was new, and their Reputation was yet to be built up. This made the following Story, True or False, to be very seasonable for the *Franciscan* Order.

Mary, having one Day according to her Custom, had a Rapture, upon her having received the Communion; by abstractive Species she saw all the World at once, and having in this large View, observed nothing so much as Mankind, which was all seen by her; she was wounded to the Soul, to see how small a Number of them, were *Roman* Catholicks; and tho' on this Occasion her Compassion extended its self to *Hereticks*, *Jews* and *Mahometans*, yet the Heathens were the People it fixed it self upon, with the greatest Tenderness; and of all the Heathens the most sensibly upon the People of *New Mexico*, for whose Conversion she prayed fervently. And having after she was out of that Rapture, continued to pray for them particularly, she was presently thrown into another, in which she found herself in a New Region, and in a different Climate, and amidst those very *Indians* she prayed for so particularly. She did sensibly perceive the great Heat of that Climate, and observed all
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its other Diversities; she was then commanded to pour out her Charity on the *Indians* she had prayed for so much, by Preaching the Christian Faith to them. *Mary* did so, and tho' she spoke to them in *Spanish*, she was perfectly understood by them, and so was their Language by her. But when she came out of her Rapture, she found herself in the same Place it had seized her in. These Missionary Raptures were repeated five hundred times, so that they must come very thick upon her; for, as we shall see hereafter, her Raptures were all quite over within a Year after the first she had of this sort. But that is not very material in such a Story as this, for *Mary* in so many hundred Voyages to *New Mexico*, did convert the King of that vast Country and all his Subjects, which were numberless, to the Christian Faith: In which after she had perfectly instructed them all, she bid them go to a remote Country, where they would meet with *Franciscan* Friars, that would come and Baptize them. The *Indians* did so forthwith, and having met with the Friars, they brought them home with them; the Friars were amazed when they found the King and all his Subjects so perfectly instructed in the Christian Religion; and so having Baptized them all presently, they asked them by whom they had been so well Instructed: The *Indians* said by a Woman, but they could not

tell who she was, nor from whence she came, but they gave an Account of the Cloaths she wore, and of her Countenance. The Friars perceiving plainly, that her Cloaths were exactly the Habit of the *Franciscan* Nuns, one of them, who hapned to have a small Picture of Mother *Luisa de Carion*, a famous *Franciscan* Nun in *Spain* at that time, for *Mary's* Fame, nor Picture, had not yet reach'd those remote Parts, he shewed it to the *Indians*, and asked them whether that was not the Woman that had instructed and converted them : They said, the Habit was exactly the same, but the Face was not, for the Woman by whom they were taught, was both much younger, and much handsomer. The Friars then conferr'd together to find out who this Woman should be ; and the Person of all others that was the most solicitous to know it, was their Superior, Father *Alonso de Benavides* ; and who, tho' not till eight Years after he knew of that Conversion, did take a Journey from the remotest *Indies* to *Spain*, on purpose to find out this Female Apostle, concluding it seems, that she was in *Spain*, tho' her Converts had told him no such thing. Father *Benavides* being arriv'd at *Madrid*, did very luckily meet with the General of the *Franciscan* Order there ; to whom he told the whole Story as it is above related : The General who was no Stranger to *Mary*, for he had been lately at *Agre-*
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da, to visit her, as one of the most useful Subjects of his Order ; affirmed presently, that she must be the Woman that had wrought the miraculous Conversion, and being resolved to make the most of this Story, he did, saith our *Franciscan* Writer, that no Doubt might hereafter remain of its Truth, secretly appoint Father *Benavides*, to go to *Agreda*, with the Character of his Commissary ; for whatever the Mystery of it was, this Matter was transacted so secretly, that until after *Mary's* Death, which was above forty Years after this, it was not known to any in *Spain*, besides a few confiding *Franciscans*. And the General fearing least *Mary's* great Humility might make her backward to declare the whole Truth, he sent Letters to her by his Commissary, commanding her, on the Merit of Obedience, to declare it all.

Father *Benavides*, when he came to *Agreda*, was met there by a Provincial of the *Franciscan* Order, of so great Moment was the giving of Credit to this Story, judged to be, that the whole Authority of that Order was got together at *Agreda*, for to help that Story to it. That Affair was nevertheless transacted with that Secrecy, that Father *Benavides*, and *Mary*, and all the rest concerned in the managery of it, were in their Graves before it was publish'd in *Europe*, neither was it perhaps inconvenient that it

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should be so, since they might otherwise have been asked some questions about it, which it would not have been very easy for the cunningest of them to have answered : But to proceed.

The Generals Commissary, the Provincial and the Confessor, who was a Learned and Wise *Franciscan*, that had dedicated himself entirely to the conducting of *Mary* in a spiritual Way : Having delivered the Generals Letters to her, they required her to declare all that she knew concerning a great Conversion made eight Years ago in *New Mexico*, *Mary*, who was the most obedient Creature in the World to her Superiors, having made a Sacrifice of this great Secret to Obedience, she gave them the full History of that Conversion exactly as it is above related. And being asked by the Commissary, *Whether she made that remote Conversion in her Body, or only in her Spirit ?* She answered, *She was not certain in that, but that she was most inclined to think it was performed by her only in Spirit.* The Commissary looking on that doubt of *Mary's* to be an effect of her profound Humility, upon the following Evidences, he and his two Confederates, did pronounce that remote Conversion to have been made by *Mary* in her Body, or Person.

First, Because there was Experience for its having been made so, for she had seen all those

those remote Regions with her Eyes, and felt their excessive Heat. She also knew the true Names of them all, and did give an exact Description of them, and of the Habit and Military Arms of those *Indians*. In her Voyages to *New Mexico*, she had seen prodigious Seas and vast Tracts of Land, of all which she gave a perfect Account: She had been in some of them by Day, and in others by Night; in some of them she had met with fair Weather, and in others with Rain; and had seen the *Indians* on their Knees to her praying for a Remedy.

Secondly, In one of those Voyages, she thought she had distributed a great many *Rosaries* which lay by her in her Cell, among the *Indian* Converts. And when she looked for those *Rosaries*, after she was out of that Rapture, they were all gone, neither were they ever found afterwards. *Mary's* Body having, during her five hundred Missionary Raptures, been still in her Convent, and none of those Raptures having lasted above three Hours, are so much as mentioned, as Objections against the Sentence of *Mary's* having made all those Voyages in Person; those natural Impossibilities, being by the Belief of Transubstantiation looked on as Difficulties not considerable enough to deserve to be taken notice of. As in truth they that have once swallowed that Doctrine, may with

with ease believe this, or any other Story in defiance of all Objections against them.

The Commissary having settled this Affair to his hearts desire, he procured a Letter from *Mary* to her *Indian* Converts, full of good Instructions, and pious Exhortations, which he carried over with him to *New Mexico*, to which he returned soon after. But to put an end to this long blind Story, this remote miraculous Conversion is said to have been made by *Mary* in the Year 1622, when she was not yet twenty Years old. Father *Bonavides's* diligence was made in the Year 1630. *Mary* died in the Year 1665, and this famous Story was brought out of the Lavender it had lain in above thirty Years, and was first published in *Spain* in the Year 1668; when the Commissary General of the *Franciscan* Order in the *Indies*, did send the History of it to their Procurator in the Court of *Madrid*, to be by him presented to the Royal Council of the *Indies* in *Spain*; as a *Testimony*, saith our *Franciscan* Writer, of what the *Franciscan* Order is continually doing in the *New World*, in the Conversion of *Infidels*, in Contradiction to a certain Emulation, he means that of the *Jesuits*, which pretend to obscure that Glory.

Now if that Glory of the *Franciscan* Order in the Conversion of *Infidels*, can be supported by such Testimonies as these, let its Friars in the *Indies* be as lazy as they will, neither

neither the Jesuits, nor no other Emulation, will be able to obscure it.

In the Year 1623, which was within a Year after *Mary* is said to have gone in Person from *Spain* to *New Mexico*; that great Traveller's Raptures left her, upon *Mary's*, saith our *Franciscan* Writer, having out of her great Humility prayed fervently, that she might have no more of them, nor no other Exterior miraculous Favours, to draw after her the Eyes and the Veneration of the World, which was a Cross she was not able to bear. But now, though Humility is a very good thing, yet considering, that if those Raptures had continued, *Mary* might have made more such remote Conversions, for out of Raptures they were never made. I cannot tell whether *Mary* did well in praying to be freed from them, for no other reason, but because they had their due effects on all that believed them to be divine Raptures. But however that is, *Mary* notwithstanding the great Conversion she had made in Person in her Raptures, was so mortified by People shewing her so much Reverence, that she did resolve, if they had continued to have found out some way or other to prevent that ill effect of them. The first way she thought of, was to feign her self *Dumb*; but being obliged to Confess, and which was a Duty she would not for the World have omitted: that would not do.

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The next thing she intended, to abate the high Opinion which the World had of her, was to counterfeit herself a *Fool*, or an *Idiot* : But to do that, required Actions so dissonant to her natural Serenity and Composure, that she could not act that part neither. By this we may see, that whatever *Mary* was as to her Raptures, she was not incapable of devising Tricks when she had a mind to it. And however it was in this case, Pride has had a thousand such Tricks made use of to gratifie it, where Humility has had one.

But *Mary* was soon eased of this great trouble of inventing Tricks how to lessen her high Fame ; for her Raptures having left her at the Age of two and twenty, her Reputation sank apace, and no where so fast as in her own Convent ; where the Nuns in a most provoking manner, did let loose their Tongues. Some of them said *Mary's* Fits having left her as they did, shewed plainly they were not divine Raptures ; others said, if there was any thing in them that was more than Natural, it must have been from the Devil. And others said, if they were divine Raptures, she must by some great Sin or other have provoked God to desert her.

The Confessor, who before had talked too lavishly of *Mary's* Raptures, and by magnifying of them had drawn People too much about her, was now so reserved, that he
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would not say a word to any body of them ; neither would he suffer *Mary* though never so much provoked to it, which was a wise Course enough : Only *Mary*, having observed that her Mother seemed to be much troubled at it, she begged of her as she loved her, not to be in any pain about that Matter. Our *Franciscan* Writer owns, that *Mary* herself was likewise much dejected at this time ; but he will not hear of that Affliction's having proceeded from a Sense that her Fame was sinking ; for in that he will still have her to have rejoiced beyond measure ; and indeed beyond what seems to be proper ; but to have been caused purely by the Devils having attacked her at that time, with greater fury than he had ever done before.

But however *Mary* stood affected as to her own Fame, that of her Superiours, who had made such a noise with her divine Raptures, was too much involv'd in it, for them to let it sink, if it could be upheld by any Pretences. So it was presently given out, That *Mary* having in her great Humility prayed away her Raptures, she was now return'd to her former beloved silent and hidden way of Conversing with God : And that she had now Elevations of Spirit, though no outward signs of them appeared, because she had prayed none might ; that were as miraculous, and much greater Favours than
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her Raptures. And thus *Mary* had her Fame set on a surer ground than it stood on before; all her Extraordinaries being now Interiors and Invisible, and were all believed on the word of her Confessor, and other Superiors.

Mary for some time before, besides her Guardian Angel, had six other Angels appointed to attend her; and which, now she was in the silent and hidden way, did converse with her much more familiarly, than they had done in the days of her Raptures; which having left her, were by her Superiors called, *A low imperfect Estate*. Those six Angels had all their distinct Offices about *Mary*. The First was her Mediator with God, as if Christ alone was not sufficient for that Work. The Second was her Embassador to God, to lay before him all her Desires, Works, and Petitions. The Third was to enlighten her Soul, as if the Holy Ghost could not have done that sufficiently. The Fourth was to defend her against Evil Spirits. The Fifth was to manifest God's Majesty to her. And the Last was to manifest to her the Blessings of Sweetness, and the Marvels which were done in her Soul. And to her farther unspeakable Joy and Comfort, she had at this time *St. Ursula*, the Captain of the eleven thousand Virgins, and *St. Ines* given her for her Companions; and who when they were first introduced

duced to her, did in her hearing, receive the following Charge from God.

My Spouses, I deliver you here to my beloved Mary, whom ye shall Accompany, Comfort and Support, that she may be likewise a Faithful Spouse to me. Now all this being believed, as it was, and is still in *Spain*, was it not enough to raise *Mary's* Fame, which had begun to sink upon her Raptures having left her, higher than ever it was.

But to make *Mary* yet easier and safer in her silent and hidden Way, she had a great Stumbling-block removed out of it, by her kind Superiours. For whereas the old Nuns that had at first been brought from *Burgos*, and some who had been brought from *Madrid* into that Convent, had still opposed *Mary* in that Way, and had never had no good Opinion neither of *Mary*, nor of her Raptures. Those Nuns were now all removed; and to make a clear Stage for *Mary*, were sent back to the Places from whence they came. And though the silent and hidden Way, and extraordinary Elevations of Mind do not commonly qualifie People much for Government, *Mary*, though she was not yet five and twenty Years old, must be Lady Abbess of the Convent. On this occasion a most terrible Combate did arise betwixt *Mary* and her Superiours; for *Mary*, as if she had reckoned Humility to be better than the Sacrifice of Obedience to God and Man, did not-

notwithstanding she had in a divine Revelation been expressly commanded to accept of that Office, refuse to hear of it when it was spoke of to her by her Superiours. And in this painful Streight betwixt her Humility and her Obedience, *Mary* continued, until the blessed Virgin was so kind as to help her out of it : Who having appeared to her one Day, bid her be of good Chear, for she herself would be Lady Abbess of that Convent, and *Mary* should only be her Agent, or Deputy ; promising with great Tenderness, at all times to direct and assist her in that Government. With this expedient *Mary* was so well pleased, that she did not say a word more against her being chose Lady Abbess ; as she was, as soon as her Superiours had a Dispensation from the Pope, for her not being of Age, according to the Rules of her Order. And to give a publick Demonstration of the blessed Virgins being the Lady Abbess, and *Mary* only her Deputy ; *Mary* had a Throne erected in the middle of the Quire, on which she placed an Image of the blessed Virgin, laying at her Feet the Rule and the Seal of the Convent, which are the Ensigns of that Dignity. And this Ceremony is continued in that Convent to this Day, and that Image is by all the Nuns still called their Prelate.

Mary, whom hereafter I shall call Lady Abbess, because she had the full Powers of
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that Office, though she was only a Deputy in it ; did in the very first Year of her Government, begin to project the building of a new and bigger Convent. The place she had pitched on for it, was without the Walls of the Town, and near the *Franciscan* Friars ; she had not been quite a Year Lady Abbess, and had but an hundred Rials, or fifty Shillings, and which she had borrow'd too of a devout Person, when she laid the first Stone of that Foundation ; and though a great hard Rock was removed, at the expence of much Money and Time, to make the situation the more Commodious, it was all finished in seven Years. So fast did the belief of the blessed Virgins being its Lady Abbess, and of her Deputy's Elevations, Visions, and Revelations bring in Money. Its Church was a beautiful Building, its Quire was large, its Cloister very curious, and all its Offices so adjusted, that no Monastery can be more commodiously built for that Order. The building of so great a Convent in so short a time, was looked on by every body as a Miracle ; and which was the more astonishing, because no body could perceive by what ways so vast a Sum of Money had been procured. And so affected was the Bishop of *Tarazona*, who is the Ordinary of *Agreda*, with this Miracle, that he came to *Agreda* capitularly, with the whole Chapter of his Church, to celebrate the Translation

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of the Nuns to this Monastery. That Translation was celebrated on the 10th of *June*, in the Year 1633, with the greatest Ecclesiastical Pomp that had ever been seen before in that Place. In the Procession, not only the Secular Clergy and Friars in *Agrede*, but of all the Country for many Miles about, and all the Nobles, and Town Companies did appear. Every Nun had a Dignitary, or Canon of the Church of *Tarazona* walking by her side: And in the Rear came the Bishop, who said the Pontifical Mass with great Solemnity in its Church. And whereas the Rents of the former Convent were hardly enough to maintain twelve Nuns, the Lady Abbess, before she died, had sure Rents settled upon it, sufficient to maintain three and thirty; which was their Number, in Plenty, and all sorts of Conveniences. So good a Lady Abbess was *Mary* to her Nuns in Temporals, as well as Spirituals, notwithstanding she was all this while in her silent and hidden way, and with extraordinary Elevations and Illuminations concerning the Life and Mysteries of the Queen of Heaven.

But whereas according to the Rules of that Order, one can be Lady Abbess but for three Years, and cannot without a Dispensation from the Pope be re-elected at the end of them, a terrible Combate did arise betwixt her, and the Nuns, and her Superiors, about
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choosing her again. Her Superiors and the Nuns having sent to the Popes Nuncio in *Madrid*, to supplicate for that Dispensation: *Mary*, as if she had quite forgot the Agreement which was betwixt the blessed Virgin and her, did oppose her being chose a second time, as much as if that expedient had never been thought of; writing earnestly to the Popes Nuncio, by no means to grant that Dispensation. This Carriage of the Lady Abbess's, though it is very odd, is not to be wonder'd at: Her Understanding, her Discretion, and Memory, yea and her Obedience to God, and to her Superiors, being at every turn sacrificed, by the Writer of her Life, to the Humours of her Humility; which is the Vertue of all others he takes the most Pains to adorn his Hero with. This violent struggle was at the end of every third Year, for seven and twenty Years together, renewed by the Lady Abbess, writing still to the Nuncio not to grant a Dispensation for her being chosen again, but she could never obtain that Grace, before the Year 1652, when that Dispensation was deny'd by *Julio Rospeliosi*, the Popes Nuncio in *Madrid*, and so another Nun was chosen into that Office, to the great grief of the Nuns, and their Superiors; but of course to *Mary's* great Joy. I doubt not but *Rospeliosi*, had some reason for this singularity of his, beside *Mary's* Supplicating him of course to

deny that Dispensation, though we are not told what it was. But that New Lady Abbess's three Years being expired, *Mary* was chosen again, and did continue in that Office till she died; so that she was Lady Abbess from the Year 1625, to the Year 1665, with that single gap of three Years made by *Rospeliosi*.

The Lady Abbess is said to have had now nothing in her Head but the writing the Life of the blessed Virgin, and in order to that she began to have both Active and Passive interior Dispositions. Her Passive Dispositions, which in a Protestant would be call'd *Enthusiasm*, or *Quakerism*, did begin with an Infusion of such a clear and universal Science, as was necessary to enable her, with a profound Knowledge, to perceive and delineate the Excellencies of the Mother of the Creator, and of the Queen of the Creation. For tho' by her first Lights, when she was an Infant, she had the Knowledge of the Universe infused into her, that Knowledge was so superficial, as to lead her only to the Knowledge of the Creator in the Creature. But the Science she had now infused into her, was most distinct, and with a great Penetration, into the *Beings*, *Qualities*, and *Properties* of every Thing. What a noble body of natural Philosophy could this Nun have made, if she had pleased, with all this Knowledge. With these inward Lights and Dispositions, the

the Lady Abbess had likewise some outward Helps, towards the writing of that Life; the chief of these, and which no doubt of it, did signifie more than all the other Exterior and Interior, was her having got at this time, a Learned *Franciscan* Friar for her Confessor. His Name was *Francisco Andres de la Toore*, who whilst he was the Provincial of the *Franciscan* Order, had an Inspiration to devote himself and his time entirely to the Conducting of the Lady Abbess in her silent and hidden way; and who so soon as the time of his Government was out, dedicated himself wholly to that Business, as the best he could imploy himself in, for the Service of his Order, if not for his own too.

After the Lady Abbess was thus well disposed, prepar'd and ready to have gone about that great Work; to prevent her being exalted above measure by that Honour, she was for fourscore Days together, in one continued Night of dismal Darknes. God having, during all that time, hid himself from her; neither did her Angels assist her, and all her Lights had retir'd; and while she was in these funest Obscurities, she was furiously attacked by *Lucifer* himself, accompanied with many Legions of Devils. At the end of fourscore Days, she began to see some Light, for the Devils having been conquered by her, did flie from her, but in a most outrageous manner; and a good Angel appeared, and

administred her some Comfort. When the Devils had left her, she was presently visited with various painful Distempers, which brought her very low, and in that weak Condition, she had a clear Vision of Hell, and of all the damned in it, and of their several sorts of Torments; by which horrible Sight, a Torment was raised in her own Soul greater than any Creature on Earth can express or conceive. After this long tedious Night of dismal Obscurities, and Battels, the Sun of Righteousness displayed its Beams, and she begun to spy Day in the divine Presence. Her Angels also appeared joyful about her, and being regaled by the divine Spouse, with his Pleasures, she was taken up by him into his high Habitation, where the Treasures of his incomparable Knowledge were liberally poured into her Soul; first she had infused into her the Knowledge of the whole Creation, from the *Empyrean* Heaven to the Centre of the Earth, with a great Distinction and Penetration of all their Parts: what pity it was she did not tell her Confessor, whether the *Ptolomaick* or the *Copernican* Hypothesis was true. She had next infused into her the deepest Knowledge of the Church Militant, and of all its Orders, Treasures and Miracles; and also of the whole Order of Grace and spiritual Gifts. And this Science in her, did extend its self to all political Affairs, and to all the Modes of temporal Government,

vernment, not only among the Sons of the Church, but among those likewise who are without her, so that she comprehended the whole political State of the World. It was *Philip* the Fourth's believing this Nun to be so perfect and Universal a Politician, that made him visit her so often, and correspond with her for many Years by Letters, asking her Advice in all Affairs of great Importance. Now considering how ill things went every where with that Prince, during the Time of his Corresponding with this Nun, she seems not to have been a much better Politician than the *Spanish* first Ministers that were before her, or at least not more fortunate.

In the last Place she had the most eminent Knowledge of the Church Triumphant, and of all the Orders of Angels and Saints infused into her; and in an abstractive Vision, she did behold the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of Essence. All this Knowledge was in her at this time actually and distinctly, and did penetrate into all its Objects; and that of the Creatures, in the three Orders of Nature, Grace and Glory, was habitual and permanent in her, so that she made use of it with ease when she pleased. She had also such a Light in the Scriptures, that when she recited the Offices, she discover'd many Mysteries in the Psalms; and tho' she had not the Knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue infused into her, so as to speak it, yet she under-

flood it very well : And as to the *Spanish* Tongue, besides the Propriety, she had a grave Elegancy given her in it, and a most admirable Knowledge and Use of the most proper and percise Terms of Scholastical, and Mystical Divinity, which many great Men have not been able to acquire with much Study. It was absolutely necessary for the Writer of this Nun's Life, to affirm, that this Knowledge was infused into her ; for otherwise none could have believed the Books which are published under her Name, to have been written by her ; they are every where so full of Scholastical and Mystical Terms and Distinctions ; and which are so properly apply'd, that her Scholastical Confessor himself could not have used them more properly.

The Lady Abbess having had her Understanding thus passively disposed, by the Infusion of so many Lights, she went on to the Active, by which her Will and other Faculties and Powers, were to be rightly disposed ; and to provoke her to do her Part in the Active. She had all the extraordinary Benefits she had ever received from Heaven set before her in a clear Light ; by this Sight, so high a Sense of Gratitude was raised in her, that she thought, if her Life was not absolutely perfect, she could not answer those Obligations ; and as this did create in her a most vehement Thirst after Perfection, so
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whilst she was pursuing that with all her Powers, she was in a high Vision, by an admirable Spiritual Marriage espoused to Christ, to whom she was espoused twice before, but not in so high and solemn a Manner. For after this Marriage her Lord and Husband gave her strict Matrimonial Laws, and commanded her to write them down, which she did, in an admirable Tract, with this Title, *The Laws of the Spouse, the Looks of her chaste Love, and the Teachings of the divine Science*: All which Laws she set her self to observe punctually.

And being now thus disposed, with an Elevation of Spirit, with the Assistances of her Angels, with the Conversation of Virgins, that is of *St. Ursula*, and *St. Ines*, and under the immediate Government of the Queen of Heaven, and with the Infusion of Knowledge, and with the Perfection of a Spouse, and with the Arms of the King her Husband; and last of all, with an ardent Desire after the Salvation of Souls, she did receive a positive Command, for her own Instruction, for the Glory of God, for the Honour of his Mother, and for the Profit of the Faithful, to write a Description *of the Mystical City of GOD, which is the blessed Virgin*. For ten Years, at Times, she had been receiving Orders to write that Divine History, but in great Humility she had still declined it, as an Honour too great for her; but this last Command

mand was so positive, that no Room was now left for Humility to interpose it self any longer in; it did nevertheless, and according to its Custom began to be troublesome and impertinent again. For when she acquainted her Confessor with the last Command she had received to write that History, she told him, *She was in a very great Streight betwixt yielding Obedience to that Divine Command, and the Conceit she had of her own Unfitness for so high a Work, desiring his Advice and Direction.* Her Confessor, who had for some Years observed the Course of those Divine Intimations, concerning the writing of that History, having advised with his Superiors, did now command her, as she would not resist God and her Prelates, to go presently about that Work. Of both which Commands, she takes Notice in her Introduction to that History; and in the second Chapter of its first Book, she mentions the Lights she had, and the State she was in when she writ that *Life*, with all the Sorts and Manners of Revelations which were communicated to her on that Occasion; and where she shews how great an Infusion she had of Light into Scholastical and Mystical Divinity.

In the Year 1637, the Lady Abbess making no small Sacrifice of her self to Obedience, began to write that *Life*. She was at that time in great Tranquillity of Mind, for the Devil was chained up that he might give her

no Interruption. And so great was the Affluence of Divine Light, and of the Knowledge of Mysteries, that in twenty Days she had finished the first Part of that great Work. But the Devil, who during the twenty Days she was writing that Part, had been chained up, being now let loose, and coming to understand how she had been employed in his Absence, and how pernicious a Thing that History would be to his Kingdom, he attacked her with all his Fury, and did strive by all ways, but chiefly by suggesting Fears to her, to have destroy'd it, or at least to have obstructed its being carried on any further. But the Devil, after many a fierce Battel, having been vanquished by her, she went on writing with great Ardor, until she had finished the whole Work. And which is, I think, in many respects the strangest that this Age produc'd. However, to reward her for this great Service, the blessed Virgin appeared to her, and having spoke to her with great Benignity, she prepared her to ascend into the hidden Bed of her most holy Spouse. *First*, By instructing her in Self-Renunciation. *Secondly*, By renewing in her the mystical Death. *Thirdly*, By washing and purifying her Mind from all impure Images, and Species of the World. *Fourthly*, By acquainting her with the Royal Robes, and the rich Jewels her Husband would have her wear. And, *Lastly*, By directing her how to build the Castle within her,

her, and how to adorn it so, as to be fit for her Lord and Husband to live in : With a great deal more, concerning the spacious and always pleasant Gardens she was to walk in with her Husband : Concluding, with acquainting her with the admirable Form in which her Marriage-Writings were to be signed under those Conditions. All which Successes, Doctrines, and Instructions were writ by the Lady Abbess, in a Treatise, Entitled, *The Laws of the Spouse; and the Thought and Sighs of her Heart, for obtaining of the last and true End, the good Grace of her Lord and Husband.*

The Lady Abbess, who hitherto had practised Vocal Prayer much, was now elevated to that Seraphical Height, that she began to dislike that Exercise, fearing the Plenitude of Light, and the Manifestation of Mysteries might be obstructed by it. So restless and unsatiable a Thing is Enthusiasm; for if this Nun had all the Lights she is said to have had from her Birth, she might very well have been contented with her present Plenitude, and with the Way of Worship it had been communicated to her in. But she could not be so it seems, and did therefore acquaint her Confessor with the great Perplexity she was in concerning Vocal Prayer; being, she said, afraid after having used it so long, and with so great Profit, for to leave it off, and likewise afraid to use it any longer,

apprehending her Progress in the Spiritual Way, which is silent and hidden, might be retarded by it.

Whether this was this Nun's Case or not, it is, as I have observed before, what the Mystical Way of Worship naturally tends to; and, if it be left entirely to its Liberty, certainly ends in. And for that Reason the *Roman Church*, whose Riches and Grandeur do arise from bodily and exterior Performances of Worship, though she may now and then for a little Variety, allow the Mystical to one shut up in a Cloister, under a blind Obedience to a cunning Confessor. Of all things in the World, she will not suffer it to spread amongst her People, who living in hot and dry Climates, if they be any ways religiously disposed, are naturally strongly enclined to that way. For by what I could observe by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*, all, or most of them, if they were left entirely to their Liberty, in all Matters of Religion, would be either Irreligious, or Enthusiastical. That deep and dark Superstition they are all now under, being plainly a Yoke upon their natural Tempers, and which is kept upon them by the great and steady Vigilance and Terrors of the Inquisition; and is, as the Yoke of their Gravity, made supportable by Pride, Custom, and long Usage. For I could never observe any of them to be well disposed to a sober and reasonable Worship, that had no-
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thing in it either of Superstition or Enthusiasm.

Her Confessor so far comply'd with her mystical Inclination, as to advise her not to use Vocal Prayer any more in her private Devotions; but in all the prescribed and publick Offices of Worship, he held her close to it. And finding that she began to soar too high in the silent and hidden Way, he did, after the Example of the Old Nuns, who were so much condemned for it, employ her more about Secular Affairs, and curb her great Ardors in Spiritual.

She is nevertheless after this said to have passed through three mystical Noviciates, and to have been by them elevated to the Pinnacles of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and of all other Christian and Moral Virtues: And that being in this elevated State, she discovered a most hellish Plot hatching against the Church, and against *Spain* particularly, for being her fondest Member. For in the eternal Caverns of Hell, she saw a great Council of Devils laying their Heads together how to destroy the Church; and who, after many Deliberations, at last came to this Resolution, That they would engage the *Roman Catholick* Princes in a War with one another, and afterwards incite the Hereticks to joyn with some of them to destroy *Spain*, and with her the *Roman* Faith, of which she is the chief Support. After this Vision nothing was

was so much in her Thoughts, nor lay so heavy on her Spirits, as the Dangers she saw the Church in; for whose Safety she did not only pray fervently, but did also by Letters, acquaint her own King and the Pope with the Conspiracy she had discovered; and with her having seen many Legions of Devils sent out of Hell to execute it; putting them both in mind of their Duty, in a Time of so great Danger. We are not told that she writ either to the Court of *France*, or to that of *Portugal*, to acquaint them with the hellish Plot she had discovered. But if she did, her Words were not regarded in either of those Kingdoms. The Wars betwixt them and *Spain*, having after she had beat this Alarm at *Madrid* and *Rome*, been carried on many Years with great Heat. However, since this Oracle did *Philipize*, her Discoveries being plainly calculated for *Philip* the Fourth's Interest; it was, or seemed to be, believed by that Prince: And who being called by his Affairs to *Saragossa*, he did take *Agreda*, tho' it was not in his way, on purpose to see this Visionary Nun. He spent several Hours in Conversation with her, and was so well pleased with what she said to him, that at parting, he beseeched her to pray for him and his Kingdoms, and to correspond with him by Letters; and when he writ to her about Affairs of Importance, to let him have her Advice. By this means the Lady

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Abbess, or rather the *Franciscan* Order, was raised to the top of the Ministry. And as there was scarce a Post by which the King did not write to her with his own Hand for Advice; so she took care to let him have it, writing to him with an Oracular Authority. Thus the *Franciscan* Order, by having raised this Nun's Name so high, had opened a Way ready to it self of laying all its Affairs and Wants immediately, and with great Weight before the King. What Advantages that Order reaped by being for several Years thus at the top of the Ministry, I know not; only I find, that the King in the Year 1649, was put into such a Flame of Zeal for the *Immaculate Conception*, the Idol Doctrine of the *Franciscan* Order, that he declared publicly in a *Cortes* of the whole Kingdom, *That if the Definition of that Point did depend on his going to Rome in Person to solicit it, that he would go thither with all his heart, and should reckon himself the happiest Prince in the World, if he could be an Instrument to procure that Doctrine to be defined by the Pope.*

Whether *Philip* had ever any Suspicion of the Letters and Advices which he received daily from this Nun, not being writ by her, but by her Confessor, to whom he offered a considerable Preferment in the Church, in the Year 1645, he had cause given him to suspect it shrewdly: For her Confessor having been chose Provincial again, by his Office

fice he was obliged to go to *Toledo*, there to hold a general Chapter of the Order. And during his Absence, *Mary* had a Friar for her Confessor, who had been her Confessor before. And who, if he was not the Tool of the Order to do the following Job of Work, as there is cause to believe he was, he must have been a sad Tool of a Confessor, as he is represented by them to have been. For the Lady Abbess was no sooner under his Authority, than he forbid her to write; and so the King could have no more Letters from her, and not content with that, he told her, *That Women had nothing to do to write Books*, and so commanded her to burn all her own Papers, and among the rest the History which she had writ of the Blessed Virgin.

Now as this Story was devised partly to palliate her not writing to the King, during the Time of her Confessor's Absence, and for another great Purpose, as we shall see hereafter; so it is certainly the blindest and the most incredible Story that was ever told to palliate any Thing. For can any one imagine, that the *Franciscan* Prelates, if they had not had a mind to have this Nun's former Writings destroy'd, to have better in their room under her Name, would have suffered a *Mumpsimus* to come near her, that judg'd it not to be lawful for Women to write either Books or Letters? Or can any think that this Nun, if she had not known,

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that her superior Prelates were for having those Books destroyed, would not have had recourse to them, to have rescued them from the Flames ? For we know that she was not so tamely obedient to her immediate Prelates, as not to have Recourse to their Superiors for Relief, when she thought there was an Occasion ; witness her having every three Years for above forty Years together, had Recourse to the Popes Nuncio's, in Contradiction to her immediate Prelates, to deny Dispensations for her Re-elections : But let Obedience and Humility, and what else will, be pretended, this Nun if she had believed what has been said of the extraordinary Infusions of Knowledge to dispose and prepare her to write that History ; and her having writ it by an Express Divine Command, and by Divine Revelation, and by the Command of her Prelates likewise, she must have been a most wretched Creature, to have burnt such a Divine Book, upon any Man's, and much less upon a simple *Mumpsimus's* Authority ; but we shall hear more hereafter of her having burnt this Book from her self. I shall therefore here make a short Remark, and afterwards resume the Thread of this blind Story : It is, that such blundering Paliations as these, being so thick in the Lives of the Popish Saints, which of late have been written by Men of some Learning ; and in all things else of true Sense, tempts
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one almost to think, that they are the Effects of judicial Blindness ; no such Blunders as these being any where to be met with in any profane Romances. But to return.

The Provincial being come back to *Agreda*, was, if he himself was not in the Plot, as it is not likely he was, out of all Patience to find the History of the Blessed Virgin's Life destroyed. It is said there was a Copy of it in the King's Hand, but that he took so much Delight in reading it, that rather than deprive him of that Pleasure, so long as it was necessary to have it transcribed, the Lady Abbess must undergo the Trouble of writing it quite anew : Tho' as we shall see hereafter, and that from her own Words, the second History which she writ under a new Confessor, was very different from the first, which she had burnt.

For her Confessor, Father *Francisco de la Torre*, having died in the Year 1647, the Provincial of the *Franciscan* Order could not appoint this Lady Abbess a Confessor : That great Affair having been by the Generals of that Order, for it has two, taken into their own Hands ; and whilst the Generals were deliberating where to find a fit Person for that weighty Employment ; by a strange Fatality, if it was not done with Design, the old *Mumpsimus*, who had made her burn all her Books and Papers, did return to be her Confessor again ; and who was no sooner in

that Post, than he obliged her to burn all the Writings which she had by her of her deceased Confessor, Father *de la Torre's*; as if he had thought it unlawful for Women to have any Writings by them, as well as to write themselves. This second Prank of this old Confessor's, seems to give us some Light into the first, and lets us see, that, as the first History was destroyed that a better might be writ under this Nun's Name by a new Confessor, that would be provided; so that no Evidences might remain of the first Histories having been writ by Father *de la Torres*, the same old Confessor was made use of again, to oblige her to burn all the Writings which she had by her of that Friar's. The two Generals having both died before a fitting Confessor could be found for this Nun; she, now that all her own Books and Papers, and all Father *Torres's* were destroy'd, did reckon, that her Memory was to be quite forgot in the World; and at which, according to her humble Custom, she is said to have rejoiced not a little. But that Joy of hers lasted not long, for in the Year 1650, she had Father *Andres de Fuen Major*, one of the Wisest and most Learned *Franciscans* in *Spain*, appointed to be her Confessor, and who was assisted in his Direction of her, by another *Franciscan*, whose Name was *Michael Gutierrez*, an ancient Professor of Divinity, who had been Provincial of his Order, and was at that Time

Time Qualificator of the Inquisition. So that, whatever the matter was, this Nun, if she had been Queen of *Spain*, could not have had more Care taken to provide able spiritual Guides for her than there was.

By these Directors the Lady Abbess was soon called on to write her History a second Time, and she, according to her wonted Humility, having declined it, as a Burden too heavy for her weak Shoulders; she was by her Confessor in Conjunction with her other Prelates, commanded on the Merit of Obedience, for to set about that History presently. In her Introduction to that History, she gives an Account of her having writ it twice; and which being very different from that which is given by the Writer of her Life, I shall set her Account down here in her own Words.

By the Will of the Lord, saith she, and the Order of Obedience, I did write this Divine History a second Time. When I first writ it, the Lights wherewith I saw Mysteries, were so abundant and fruitful, and my Shortness so great, that my Tongue, nor the Volacity of my Pen were able to express the whole; and so, many things were not mentioned in it. But with Time, and new Intelligencies, at present I find my self better disposed for to write that History; though I shall still leave many things that I know, unsaid, to express them all not being possible. Besides, I have since, in the Lord, known ano-

ther Reason ; which is, That in the writing of that first History, I attended too much to its Materials, and to the Order of the Work, and the Temptations, the Fears, and Tempests of Thoughts and Suggestions I was under at that time, made it a rashness in me, being in such an Estate, to put my Hand to so great a Work. It was this that caused me to yield so easily to the burning of that first History, and which I believe was not done without the Lord's Permission. For in so turbulent an Estate, that which was convenient could not be communicated to my Soul, nor could the Will of the most High be printed on my Spirits, so, as it is now, as may be gathered from the following Success ; which was, That she was expressly commanded both by Christ and the blessed Virgin, whose words to her she sets down at length to write that History a second time.

This Nuns undervaluing her first History here so extreamly, and her saying, That it was a rashness in her to write it when she did, tho' she is said to have had an express Command both from God and her Prelates to write it then, makes it, I think, pretty plain, that the burning of that first History was no Blunder, as it was said to have been, and a very wicked one ; but was a formed design to have it destroyed, that another might be writ by a new Confessor, which they thought would do better under her Name. And her saying, That the great fault
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in her first History was, that in it she had attended too much to its Materials and Order; makes it probable, that that History was written more like common Histories, and not so Enthusiastically as the Second is, which, to give it its due, has not, I believe, its fellow in any Language. Farther, let the account she her self gives here, of the great disorder she was in when she writ her first History, be but compared with what is said by the Writer of her Life, of the heavenly tranquillity of Spirit she was in at that time, and of the Devil's having been chained up on purpose that he might give her no interruption in the writing of it, and of her extraordinary Passive and Active, Interior, and Exterior Dispositions for that Work. And let any one judge, whether that Writer, who had seen this Introduction, for he quotes it, went any farther for his Materials than to his Invention; the common Treasury of Mystical Writers, even when they stoop so low as to write History. In which, as they are always very sparing in relating outward Matters of Fact; so the few Facts which are related by them, do seldom seem to have had their Truth strictly examined; such an Examination being a drudgery, their elevated Minds know not well how to stoop to. And as to all other Matters, they are got into such a road of them, that let but a few Matters of Fact be changed in the Lives which they

write, and they will equally serve for any of the *Spanish* Saints. So that in truth he that has read one of those Lives, has in a manner read them all. And though it is true, that there is nothing the Mystical Biographers do hunt after so much, as the saying something of their Saints that may raise their Characters, that was never said of any Saint before : Yet those Singularities, when they have the good luck, as they reckon it, to light on them, are commonly so monstrous and extravagant, that, with all judicious People, it would have been more both for their own, and for their Saints honour, that they had never been thought of. And whereas of all other Writers of Lives, the *Spaniards* are the most Romantick ; so that fault may, I think, be imputed chiefly to their reading of the Novels, wherewith their Language abounds, so much when they are young. So this Nun's, and the other late *Spanish* Lives of Saints that I have seen, are all writ exactly after the Novel Mode : Having the same sort of Thoughts, Turns, and Phrases in them ; though seldom so fine, or so well laid together, as they are in the Pattern.

The Lady Abbess, after she had writ her second History, for so it was in truth, and not the same writ a second time, is by the Writer of her Life said to have soared still higher and higher in the silent and hidden way.

But

But being now quite weary of following the Wild-Goose Chase of that Friar's fanatical Fancy and Invention, as I have reason to think the Reader will be too before this time : I shall here take my leave of that Writer, and for his sake I am resolved never to have any thing more to do with Mystical Writers of History, let them find Readers where they can. I shall here only add, That the Lady Abbess died in the Year 1665, and that the General of her Order having at *Madrid* heard of her being dangerously Sick, though he was ready to have taken Horse to have gone to *Domingo de la Calçada*, to have held a general Chapter of his Order there; he, though it was threescore Miles out of his way, went to *Agreda* to see that Nun, and was met there by his Provincial, who was the Writer of this Life. And the General having resolved not to leave *Agreda* before the Lady Abbess either died or recovered, he adjourned the general Chapter to a farther Day. Of so great moment was it thought to be to the whole *Franciscan* Order, to have this Nun's Name, now they had raised it so high, supported, at and after her Death by her General and Provincial, that all the other business of that Order had a full stop put to it for that purpose.

And though we do not read of this Nun's having wrought any Miracles while she was alive, besides that of her having gone five
hun-

hundred times from *Spain* to *New Mexico* in less than a Year ; yet she was no sooner dead, than she began to work Miracles, if we may believe her Provincial, who was with his General at *Agreda* when she died, he does not relate any of those Miracles ; and the reason, he saith was, because he had no Authority to do it. For, for several Reasons it may be more convenient to lay up Miracles in silence, for a good many Years, and then publish them to the World, than to publish them as soon as they are said to have been wrought.

As to the History of the blessed Virgin, from the Minute of her immaculate Conception, until her Translation to Heaven, which is said to have been revealed by her to this Nun, and which has been printed in divers Places under her Name. It is so full of Stories taken out of Supposititious Books condemned about thirteen hundred Years ago, and larded so with Scholastical and Mystical Learning, that none that are not stone Superstition Blind, can help seeing, that it must have been written by one of great Reading in bad Books, and who was likewise a Master both in Mystical and School Divinity. And this is so palpable, that one cannot enough detest the Forehead and Impious Falshood of all that had any hand in the framing and putting so gross an Imposture on the World, as a divine History ;
nor

nor enough pity the weakness and blindness of those who do believe that History was writ by this Nun, and by heavenly Revelation: And which all in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and other Popish Countries do, besides the *Dominicans*, who for the sake of the Testimony given in that Life to the Immaculate Conception, do shake their Heads at it as an Imposture. Neither do the Jesuits, I dare say, believe the wonderful Conversion in *New Mexico*, any more than they do the Story of Don *Quixot*; as in truth there is no Story in that Romance more incredible than that is.

I shall shut up this Account with what this Nun herself saith of that Life, at the end of her Introduction to it:

‘ In the twenty fifth Year of my Age,
 ‘ and of our Lord 1627, I yielded Obedi-
 ‘ ence to my being made the Prelate; and
 ‘ which Office, though unworthy of it, I
 ‘ do hold still. During the first ten Years
 ‘ of my Prelacy, I received many Com-
 ‘ mands from the most High, and from the
 ‘ most grand Queen of Heaven to write her
 ‘ most holy Life. All which Commands I
 ‘ resisted with fear and trembling, until the
 ‘ Year 1637, when I began to write that
 ‘ Life the first time; and which after it
 ‘ was finished, was burnt by me thro’ the
 ‘ fore-mention’d Fear and Tribulations, and
 ‘ by the Counsel of a Confessor that assisted
 ‘ me

' me in the absence of my Principal, by
 ' whom I was governed. I did likewise with
 ' it, burn many more Papers, and which did
 ' all relate to that sacred History, and to o-
 ' ther important and mysterious Matters. For
 ' having been told by that Confessor, That
 ' in holy Church Women ought not to write;
 ' I readily obeyed him, and for having done
 ' it, I had afterwards most severe Reprehen-
 ' sions from my Prelates, and from my Con-
 ' fessor, who knew my whole Life. And be-
 ' ing threatned with Censures if I did not
 ' write it a second time, the most High,
 ' and the Queen of Heaven repeated their
 ' Commands to me to obey. The Light
 ' which I had of the Divine Being, at this
 ' second time, was so copious, and the Bene-
 ' fits communicated to me by the Right Hand
 ' of the most High, were so abundant, and
 ' which did all tend to the renewing of my
 ' poor Soul, and to the quickning of it in
 ' the knowledge of its divine Mistress; and
 ' the Doctrines were so perfect, and the Sa-
 ' craments communicated to me so high, that
 ' I was obliged to make another Book of
 ' them, but which relates to this History :
 ' its Title is, *The Laws of the Spouse, and*
 ' *the Fruit gathered from the Tree of the*
 ' *Life of Mary, our most holy Lady.* Which
 ' Book, with the divine Favour, I began to
 ' write on the eighth of *December*, in the
 ' Year

‘ Year of our Lord 1655, being the Day of the
 ‘ most Pure and Immaculate Conception.

All that I shall say of this Narration, tho’
 a great deal might be said of it, that if this
 Nuns prodigious Light and Knowledge in di-
 vine Matters, and chiefly in Scholastical and
 Mystical Divinity, had not been all revealed
 to her from Heaven, that most profound
 Humility, for which she is on all occasions so
 much celebrated, could not possibly have suf-
 fered her to have magnified her own Light
 and her own Knowledge in all Mysteries, at
 the rate they are magnified by her here. And
 one thing farther, That of all her Prelates, her
 Confessor, who knew her whole Life, had the
 most reason to be angry with her for having
 burnt her first History, and all the Papers re-
 lating to it : And especially if her rejoicing
 at her having burnt that Life, because that
 had made way for its being writ better, was
 not adjourned until after his Death, as I think
 it was.

The End of the Third Tract.

Printed by J. H. Smith

A N
HISTORY
OF THE
SCHISMS

Which have been in the
Roman See,

By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D. and
Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

—*Exclamet Malicerta perisse,
Frontem de rebus*—

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Patern-
oster-Row. 1714.

A
HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN

Which have been in the

Roman See

By MICHAEL CROFT, I. B. and
Chancellor of the Church of Canterbury

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Black Swan in Fleet-Street

LONDON

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Black Swan in Fleet-Street
1714

THE INTRODUCTION.

TO mortifie the Confidence of the Roman See a little, in boasting so loud of its having been sent down from Heaven to be the great Instrument of Peace and Unity in the Christian Commonwealth, I did write and publish the following History of its Schisms; and to which, were a full History added of the many long and bloody Quarrels, which that See has pick'd with Emperors, and all other Christian and Sovereign Princes; it would be manifest to the World, That no Empire on Earth was ever erected at the expence of so much Blood, and by so many and great Rebellions of Subjects against their Lawful Sovereigns, and by so many unnatural Feuds and Dissentions in Royal, and other great Families; and by so many and so great Massacres of Innocent and Harmless People, as the Papal Empire has been. And in a word, that it has been so far from an Instrument of Peace and Unity, that it has been the greatest Firebrand of War and Dissentions, the Earth was ever plagued with.

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The Introduction.

The most Learned Bishop Stillingfleet has taken some notice of the Schisms which have been in the Papacy; but as most of those Schisms are but just named by him, so he is too short on the rest, to make a fuller History of them, not to be a thing necessary, to the setting of the Papacy in a true Light, as to its most popular, but groundless Pretence.

AN
HISTORY
OF THE
SCHISMS

Which have been in the
ROMAN SEE.

THE First Schism that we read of in the *Roman See*, was that betwixt *Novatian* and *Cornelius*, and which Schism, *Ciaconius* saith, lasted near two hundred Years; there having been still a *Novatian* Bishop publicly in *Rome*, until the time of *Cælestin* the First, by whom they were expelled that City.

The Second Schism in the *Roman See*, was that betwixt *Felix* and *Liberius*; they are both, in their turns, said to have been true Bishops of *Rome*; but whether they

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were

were so or not, by the Ancients they are both said to have been *Arian* Hereticks. One thing concerning them is remarkable, which is, That *Felix*, who is not reckoned among the Bishops of *Rome* in the Catalogues of the Bishops of that *See*, is in her Martyrology named a Saint and Martyr; and in which Martyrology, *Liberius*, who is reckoned Bishop of *Rome* in those Catalogues, is not mentioned. I do but just mention those two first Schisms in the *Roman See*, because they were founded on a difference in Doctrines, and not on the right of Election.

The Third Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Ursicinus* and *Damasus*. *Ursicinus* is said by some to have been first chosen by those who were of *Liberius's* Party; and *Damasus* to have been chosen seven Days after him, by those who had adher'd to *Felix*. By others, *Damasus* is said to have been first Elected. But let that be as it will, by this Schism the City of *Rome* was long made a Scene of Christian Blood, and of violent Bickerings, to the entertainment of the *Pagans*. Of which Christian Tragedy, the following Account is given by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, an heathen Historian, who lived at the time when it was acted; who speaking of *Venantius*, Præfect of *Rome*, who succeeded *Lampadius*, he saith.

His Successor *Venantius a Panonian*, who had been Exquisitor of the Palace, was a Just and

and Prudent Man, his Administration was peaceable and quiet, and did flow with Plenty of all Things; he was much terrified by the bloody Seditions of the disagreeing People, which did make mad Work. For *Damasus* and *Ursicinus*, being above Measure eager to snatch the Episcopal See, did with their several Parties contend for it most violently, unto Death and Wounds; and which *Viventius* not being able either to suppress or mollify, was by its Violence drove into the Suburbs: *Damasus* had the better in the Conflict, that Party which favoured him, being the most eager. Certain it is that in the *Basilica* or *Sicininus*, where there is a Conventicle of the Christian Rites, in one Day there were found an hundred and thirty seven dead Bodies; neither were the enraged People easily quieted, and indeed considering the Ostentation of the Pomp of the City, I cannot deny, that they who are ambitious of that Office, ought with all their Force to contend for it; being, after they have obtained it, secure, and enriched by the Oblations of Matrons, going abroad curiously dressed sitting in their Litters; and so exact they are in their profuse Meals, that their Feasts do exceed those of Royal Tables. And who might be truly happy, if despising the greatness of the City, they did set themselves against Vice, and did live after the Example of some Provincial Bishops, whose great Abstinence in

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Eating

Eating and Drinking, together with the meanness of their Cloaths, with their Eyes looking down upon the Ground, does constantly recommend them as pure and humble to the Deity, and to its true Worshippers. Thus far *Marcellinus*.

This Schism lasted all *Damasus's* Time, and who having got the Emperor *Valentinianus*, and the Præfect *Maximinus* on his Side; he made great Use of the Ferity which was in both their natural Dispositions, to persecute, torment and destroy, *Ursicinus* and his Adherents, after the most cruel Manner.

And as during the whole Time of this Schism, and which lasted above eighteen Years, Paganism, which before had been brought very low in the City of *Rome*, did begin to revive, and look up again; as appears from the many rank Heathen Inscriptions of that Time, which are still extant. So in all likelihood it was the hot Contentions, Fightings and Slaughters, which were among the Christians, on the Occasion of this Schism, and of all which *Damasus* appears to have been the chief Author, that gave this new Life to dying Paganism.

Upon *Amianus Marcellinus* having said here, *That the Bishops of Rome in his Days lived in great Ease, Plenty and Luxury; and upon Prætextatus having used to say at the same time, Make me Bishop of Rome, and I will turn Christian.* The Papal Champions cry out

out in Triumph, *behold how rich the See of Rome was become already* ; not considering, that it is not said by either of those two Heathens, that that *See's* Wealth had come to her, by *Constantine's* Donation, or by any other way, but by that, *of the Free Oblations of devout Women.*

The Fourth Schism in the *Roman See* was that, betwixt *Eulalius* and *Boniface* the First, the History of which Schism, being to be met with in the Authentick Letters of the Emperor *Honorius*, and of those of *Symmachus* Præfect of the City of *Rome* at that Time ; it gives much Light into the Election of the Bishops of *Rome*, and into the Power which the Emperors had over these Elections, and over the Persons of the Bishops after they were elected.

Symmachus, in his Report to the Emperor of that Election, tells him, that upon *Zozimus's* Death, *Eulalius*, a pious Man, had been peaceably chosen Bishop of *Rome*, by the whole Clergy almost ; and according to the Canons, and with the Observation of all the usual Rites and Solemnities ; but that a few Priests had afterwards met together, and in a Tumultuous Manner chose one *Boniface*.

It is true, that *Symmachus*, by whom this Report of that Election was sent to the Emperor, was not only a Pagan, but was also a great Bigot for Paganism ; nevertheless con-

sidering, that neither *Eulalius* nor *Boniface*, were ever accused of being one more than the other, favourable to *Paganism*; and with which *Eulalius* would long ere now certainly have been charged, if there had been the least Colour for it, I do not see why *Symmachus* having been a *Pagan*, should at all lessen the Credit of this Report. On the contrary, he might be the more impartial in it for that; since if he had been a Christian, he would probably have been led by his Religion, to have been either on *Eulalius*, or *Boniface's* Side: neither was it very safe for the Præfects of the City, to impose on the Emperors by false Reports, in a Matter wherein the Peace of the City of *Rome* was so much concerned, and which would in all likelihood, as it actually was, be brought before the Emperor to be examined by him.

Upon this Report, the Emperor fearing least this Election might come to have the same Tragical Consequences, as that of *Damasus's* and *Ursinus's* had lately, he commanded *Symmachus* to require *Boniface*, forthwith to leave *Rome*; and if he found him refractory, to drive him out of it by force.

Upon this strict Command of the Emperor's, *Boniface*, who had, I think, been chosen in the Suburbs, and had not been suffered by *Symmachus* after that, to come into the City, tho' he had with great Violence attempted to have enter'd it; did by some

some of his Priests acquaint the Emperour with his Case, and how he had been Canonically chosen Bishop of *Rome*, much against his Will.

Honorius, who was a just Prince, and a very good Christian, did thereupon resolve to hear the whole Matter himself, and having decided it, to take some Course to prevent such dangerous Contentions about that Election for the Future ; and being at this time in *Ravenna*, he commanded both *Eulalius* and *Boniface*, and their Adherents, to appear before him in that City, there to plead their several Causes ; and to which Order, they having both yielded Obedience, the Emperor assembled a Council of Bishops to examine that Election before him, and into which he would not suffer any Bishop to enter, who had by any ways already declared himself on either Side.

But this Council being so divided in their Opinions, that the Emperor could come to no Resolution, to keep the City of *Rome* quiet 'till he did, he secretly prohibited both *Eulalius* and *Boniface* to go near that City ; and that *Rome* might not, by reason of their Absence, be without a Bishop to perform the Divine Services at *Easter*, which was then at hand ; he did order *Achilleus* Bishop of *Spoleto* to go thither and officiate ; intending, soon after that Festivity was over, to have assembled a Council of other Bishops ; and among them to have had *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*,

Nola, for whom, on the Account of his extraordinary Piety, he had a very great Respect, and was very desirous to have seen him.

But *Eulalius*, notwithstanding the Emperor's Prohibition, repaired to *Rome*; and being got there before *Achilleus*, as he was preparing to have performed the divine Offices of *Easter* in the *Lateran Church*, he was assaulted by an armed Multitude, who were of *Boniface's Party*; and *Symmachus* having gone thither, either to quiet or suppress that Sedition, he found them so strong, and furious, that he narrowly escaped having been murdered by them; with which great Tumult when the Emperor was acquainted, he commanded *Eulalius* to be forthwith banished out of *Rome*; and did declare, that for having been the Author of a publick Sedition, by going to that City contrary to his Command, he had rendered himself unworthy of that See; and did thereupon, without assembling the Council which he had called, and without any farther Examination, declare *Boniface* Bishop of *Rome*. So that it was for his Disobedience to the Emperor's Commands, and not for his Election having been found faulty, that *Eulalius* lost the *Roman See*.

And that the City of *Rome* might be no more disturbed by such Tragedies, upon the Election of her Bishops, the Emperor commanded *Boniface* to let all the Clergy of *Rome* know, That it was his Will, that they should

should cease from Ambition, on all such Occasions; and that if two did contend for the Roman See, tho' they were chosen and ordained, neither of them should have it, but that another, who had never contended for it, should be chosen, that the Peace of the City might be preserved.

Here we see plainly, from a continued Thread of authentick Writings, and not from Scraps, which may have fallen inconsiderately from running Pens, how great the Emperor's Power was at this Time over the Election of the Bishop of *Rome*, and over the Persons of those Bishops likewise; and how necessary such a Power was, to bridle the Ambition of that proud City; which the Christian, the most humble of all Religions, was so little able to curb.

The Fifth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Symmachus*, and *Laurentius*; this Schism lasted several Years, and caused many great Commotions in the City, being at first powerfully supported by Senators on both sides. *Laurentius* was favoured by most Bishops, and to his great Honour was adhered to by *Paschasius* the Deacon, a Man famous for Piety and Learning 'till his Death; from the Guilt of which Sin, Pope *Gregory* having spoke of Miracles which were wrought by *Paschasius's* dead Body, saith, he might be purged in the next World.

Symmachus, to secure the *Roman See* to himself, made his Court to *Theodorick* the Gothick

Gothick King of *Italy*, notwithstanding he was a professed *Arian* Heretick; and to oblige that Prince, he quarrelled with the Emperor *Valerianus*, that he might lessen his Authority in the City. For which Service, *Theodorick* called a Synod in *Rome*, establish'd his Friend *Symmachus* in the *Roman See*. This Synod, as well as *Symmachus*, was so complaisant to *Theodorick*, tho' a professed *Arian*, as to give him the Epithets of *the most Pious and Religious Prince*; and are, for so doing, justified by *Baronius*, who, in all Matters wherein the Authority of the *Roman See* is any way concerned, is the most partial Historian that ever writ. I take notice of that in this Place, because it affords us a clear Instance of it. *Baronius* reckoning, that to have it believed that a Synod was called in *Rome* by any but by the Pope, would be a great Diminution of the Papal Authority. He flatly denies that this Synod was called by King *Theodorick*, notwithstanding the Synod it self saith expressly it was. And as it was by this means *Symmachus* established himself in the *Roman See*; so it was by such rebellious Sidings, either with the Subjects, or with Foreign Princes against their lawful Sovereign the Emperors, that that *See* was raised to a Principality with great Territories belonging to it. The Princes by whom *Italy* was invaded, having been content to allow their Friends, the Bishops of *Rome*, a great

Autho-

Authority in the City, and in the adjacent Countries, the better to secure to themselves their other *Italian* Conquest. And as Rebellion was plainly the Foundation of the Papal Secular Empire; so that Empire, assisted with a thousand Frauds, was as plainly the Foundation of the Papal Ecclesiastical.

The Sixth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Boniface* and *Dioscorius*, to which Schism a Period was put quickly, by the latter's dying soon after he was chose.

The Seventh Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Silverius* and *Vigilius*, who were both *Simonaicks*. *Silverius* having both given Money to *Theodatus* the *Gothick* King in *Italy*, and promised to assist him against the Emperor. *Theodatus* compelled the *Roman* Clergy to choose him, threatening to put them to the Sword if they did not. But the great *Bellisarius* the Emperor's General, having not long after made himself Master of *Rome*, upon Information of *Silverius's* holding Intelligence with the *Goths*, by whom the City was blocked up, and of his having promised to let them into it, he banished *Silverius* into *Greece*, and from whence, tho' he returned quickly into *Italy*, he was not suffered to come to *Rome*, but was confined to an Island that was near it, where he died.

Vigilius, who had long before laid in for the *Roman See*, having got Pope *Boniface* to name him for his Successor; being at *Constantinople*,

tinople, at the time when *Silverius* was chosen, and where he was much in Favour with the Empress *Theodata*, he obtained Letters of Recommendation from her to *Bellisarius*; and having come to *Rome* with them, and promised that General a very great Sum of Money, he was by his Authority chose Bishop of *Rome*, above a Year before *Silverius's* Death; and who, tho' he was a Prisoner at that Time, did excommunicate him as an Intruder, and a *Simonaick*.

Now *Vigilius's* having continued Bishop of *Rome*, above twelve Years after *Silverius's* Death, and died possessed of that *See*, and having ever since been reckoned the true Bishop of *Rome*, no less than *Silverius*; *Baronius* was in a great Plung, how to repair this Breach, which is made in the Papal Succession, by *Vigilius's* having still held the *Roman See* by Virtue of that Election, which was made whilst *Silverius* was alive. And therefore, right or wrong, he will have *Vigilius* to have been chosen Bishop of *Rome* a second Time after *Silverius's* Death, which as it is a Thing that was never said by any before that I heard of, so neither had he any other Colour for his affirming it; besides *Anastasius* who lived near two hundred Years after, and was far from being an accurate Writer, having said, that the *Roman See* was vacant six Days after *Silverius's* Death, but without a Syllable of *Vigilius's* having been chose a second Time;

Time; and whether those Words may not have been foisted into *Anastasius*, by some late Hand, to give such a Colour, I shall leave to the Enquiry of those who have that Historian in Manuscript. But let that be as it will, it is a very unlikely thing, that *Vigilius*, who had sat quietly above a Year, in the *Roman See* before *Silverius's* Death, should desire to be chosen a second Time; or that if he had desired it, that *Bellisarius* would have suffered it to have been done; neither is *Baronius* his Argument against *Silverius* having been a *Simonaick*, and which he is positively said to have been any better; which is, that *Silverius* could not be guilty of *Simony*, because he publicly charged his Adversary *Vigilius*, with having been guilty of it, as if Pope *Julius* the Second, having made the most severe Law that ever was against coming into the *Roman See* by *Simony*; had satisfied any Body, of that Pope's not having stole into that *See* by that Back-door. For tho' it is true, that it is not easy to bear with *Clodius's* accusing others of Adultery, nor with *Cethegus's* complaining of Sedition, yet that is one of the heavy Burdens the *Roman Bishops* have often laid upon the World, let them bear it as they can.

The Eighth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Paul* and *Theophilact*, the latter seems to have been chosen first, but he having been overpowered by *Paul*, who had the People

ple on his side, was driven out of the City.

The Ninth Schism in the *Roman See* was betwixt *Eugenius* and *Zinzinus*, all that we know of this Schism is, that it raised so great Commotions in the City, that the Emperor *Lewis*, was obliged to send his Son *Lotharius* to suppress them; and by whom, to prevent such Disturbances for the future, a Law was made, Prohibiting *All free Men, and Servants, besides those to whom it belonged by the Ancient Canons, upon pain of Banishment, to meddle in the Election of the Bishop of Rome.*

The Tenth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Benedict* and *Anastasius*: *Benedict* was first chosen, and by a great Majority; but *Anastasius* having the Emperor's Officers on his side, did with their Assistance force his way into the Lateran Church; and having found *Benedict* there, he dragged him from the Altar; and having stripped him of his Pontifical Habit, and handled him unmercifully, he threw him into a Goal, where he had not been long, before the Emperor's Officers were by the fury of the People, compelled to release him, and to suffer him to enjoy his Bishoprick.

The Eleventh Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Formosus* and *Sergius*, this Schism lasted many Years, and was carried on by Outrages which are not any where to be parallel'd.

Formosus, having by Money gained a great Majority in the City, he was strong enough
to

to dragg *Sergius* from the Altar of the Lateran Church, where his Party was ready to have declared him Bishop of *Rome*. And to get himself chose. Two Things however were still objected by the *Sergians*, against *Formosus*, the one was, that he was a Bishop, and that it was against the Canons to choose a Bishop to another *See*, neither had it ever been offered at in *Rome* before; the other was, that he had taken an Oath to Pope *Leo*, by whom he had been deposed, and banished, never to return any more to *Rome*. By these Objections *Formosus* was shaken so in his *See*, which he had bought, that finding his Interest in the City did decline daily, to strengthen himself, he invited the *Cotbick* King *Arnulph*, to come to *Rome*, and which that King having done, to gratify and establish his Friend *Formosus*, he did put all the Nobles in *Rome* to the Sword, who were suspected to have been Friends to *Sergius*. By this means *Formosus* held the *Roman See* as long as he lived; but *Stephen* the Sixth having been chose Pope soon after, this Schism was revived again with great Fury, upon the foot of the validity of *Formosus's* Ordinations; and Pope *Stephen* having assembled a Synod in *Rome*, he did command Pope *Formosus's* Body to be taken out of its Grave, and to be brought into the Synod; where having put it in a Sacerdotal Habit, Pope *Stephen* as if it had been alive, asked it,

Formosus, why did you, being Bishop of Portua, with great Ambition usurp the Roman See. To which question *Formosus's* dead Body having returned no Answer, the Pope commanded it to be strip'd presently of its Sacerdotal Habit, and having cut off three of its Fingers, it was thrown into the River *Tibur*, as unworthy of Christian Burying; and all Pope *Formosus's* Ordinations, were by Pope *Stephen*, pronounced void.

Under this infamy Pope *Formosus*, and his Ordinations did lye all Pope *Stephen's* time; but they had their Honours restored, by Pope *John* the Ninth, who succeeded *Stephen*; and who having for that purpose called a Council at *Ravenna*, and which it would not have been safe for him to have assembled in *Rome* to have done that Work; he condemned all that Pope *Stephen* had done, and did declare *Formosus's* Ordinations, to have been Canonical. *Benedict* the Fourteenth, having within forty Days after he was in the *Roman See*, been dragged out of it, and thrown into a Goal by *Christopher*; and *Christopher* before he was warm in it, having likewise been dragged out of it, and thrown into a Goal by *Sergius*; *Sergius*, as soon as he was chose Bishop of *Rome*, did call a Synod, in which he condemned all that had been done by Pope *John*, and did a second time pronounce all Pope *Formosus's* Ordinations void; which Sentence of *Sergius's* was never,

ver, so far as I can see, revoked. His immediate Successors having been all of the *Sergian* Party; for *John* the Tenth was raised to the *Roman See*, by the great Power of the infamous Strumpet *Theodora*, whose Gallant he was; and who after he had sat fourteen Years in that *See*, was dragged out of it, and murdered by the Power of *Marozia*, a no less infamous Strumpet; and *John* the Eleventh, who was her Son by *Sergius*, was made Bishop of *Rome*.

This direful Scene of Popes, set *Baronius* a canting, and railing at Protestants; for looking on it, according to that Cardinal's constant Practice, who whenever he meets with a blot in the Papacy, which he knows not how to cover, does by passionate Excursions into godly Remarks, and by bestowing hard Names upon Protestants, seek to amuse his Readers, that he may divert their Eyes from it. And as the Authority of the *Roman See* was a thing that Cardinal had continually in his Eye, so, to give him his due, he seems to have weighed, and managed every thing that any ways belongs to that *See*, with a Penetration, and Dexterity far beyond all its other Champions; and so to give a turn to this Scene, which naturally had so malign an Aspect on the *Roman See*, that should make it appear to have been for that *See's* Advantage, he devoutly pronounceth this Succession of abominable Popes, a Demonstration,

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that

that the Supream Authority of the *Roman See* can never possibly be destroyed; for if it could, saith he, such a long Succession of Monsters in Vice and Folly, must infallibly have ruined it. Not considering that that *See* hath since that time, by various great Mutations in the Empire, and by numberless Frauds and Rebellions, acquired the main of that Authority, Ecclesiastical and Civil, it is now possessed of. Neither does this Demonstration of *Baronius's*, at all reach the great Point of the uninterrupted Succession of the *Roman* Bishops, on which so great a weight is laid. For as the forementioned are in that Succession all reckoned to have been true Bishops of *Rome*; so considering how they were made Bishops of that City, either by *Simony*, or by the armed Power of Princes, or by the Intreagues of infamous Strumpets; and how some of them did sit in that *See*, whilst their Predecessors, whom they had dragged out of it, were rotting in Goals, into which they had thrown them; and how others of them, did with an unparallel'd rage dig their Predecessors Bodies out of their Graves, and having handled them most inhumanly, did condemn their Synodical Acts and Ordinations: all this being known, it is not easy for one to have any great Reverence for that Succession, or to think that there can be any great Certainty, or Order in so direful and so confused a Scene; neither is that which the
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next Schism opens, much less tragical and disorderly.

The Twelfth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *John* the Twelfth, *Leo* and *Benedict*.

John was by the great Power of his Father Count *Albarick* made Bishop of *Rome*, when he was but eighteen Years old. He was a most vile Debauchee, and having soon found himself much oppressed by his Vices, and by *Berengarius* King of *Italy*, to make himself easie in the former, he did set himself to lessen the Power of that Prince, and if it were possible to remove him out of his Neighbourhood. And for that end he sent Nuncio's privately into *Germany*, to beseech *Otho* King of *Saxony*, for God's sake to come into *Italy*, to suppress the Power of that Tyrant, binding himself with an Oath to assist him in it to the utmost; *Otho* did accept of his Invitation, and having marched with a good Army into *Italy*, he did soon drive *Berengarius* out of it, and when he came to *Rome*, was received there by that Pope with all possible expressions of Joy and Gratitude; and was soon after crowned Emperor by him.

Now its having been the Custom of all Christian Emperors, and Kings, to be crowned by the Bishop of their Metropolis; that Custom, after Princes fell a scrambling for the Western Part of the *Roman Empire*, was

of no small Advantage to the Bishop of *Rome*, all the Pretenders to that part of the *Empire*, being glad upon any terms almost to make that Bishop their Friend, that they might be crowned by him in *Rome*. And by this Door it was, that that Bishop did, by degrees slide, not only into the Sovereignty of the City of *Rome*, and of the Countries about it, but also into a pretence of a Right to nominate the Emperors, because they had used to be crowned by him : And tho' the Exercise of this pretended Right has never passed currently, yet that no Prejudice may be done to that Pretence, the Bishop of *Rome* will not to this Day give the Title of Emperor to any, whose Election he has not approved of, by having crowned them Emperors. And thus from a Minister to the Emperors, the Bishop of *Rome* rise to be their Lord, or at least to a Pretence that he is so; the asserting of which pretended Right, has cost many thousands of Christians their Lives, who had no more wit than to fight heartily against their natural Sovereign, and their native Country, to exalt a foreign Bishop, from being their Prince's Minister, to be his Lord, and their own too, to their great Prejudice.

But *Otto*, tho' he was well pleased with the Pope for his great Zeal in his Service, yet being a religious Prince, he was so much offended with his Vices, that he could not forbear telling him of them, and exhorting him
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to reform his Life : With which free Admonitions the Pope was so incensed, that *Otho* had no sooner left *Rome*, than the Pope began to plot how to keep him from returning to it any more; and being now much more solicitous to have *Otho* sent back into *Germany* again, than he was formerly for to have him come into *Italy*, he dispatched some Nuncio's privately to *Adelbert*, the Son of *Berengarius*, who was among the *Alps* with a flying Body of Troops, to invite him to come to *Rome*, and did at the same time, send Nuncio's to *Constantinople* to invite the Emperor into *Italy*, and other Nuncio's into *Hungary*, to stir up the *Hunns* to invade *Saxony*.

When *Otho* was first told, at *Pavia*, of this Conspiracy of the Pope's, he would not believe it; but told the Informer, that as he did not think it was possible for any Man to be so desperately Wicked as the Pope was reported to be; so neither did he think, that it was possible for any Man to be so ungrateful to one, that had so lately delivered him; but having been persuaded to send some to *Rome*, in whose Capacity and Probity he could confide, to enquire into the Matter; those Messengers when they were come thither, found it in every Body's Mouth, that the Pope did hate the Emperor for the same Reason, that the Devil hated his Maker; and that the Pope was certainly in a Correspondence with *Adelbert*,

bert, and did want to have him in *Rome*, for no other end but to protect and support him in his Pleasures, which he saw the Emperor would not do; that he did publicly keep *Rainerus's* Widdow, and was so desperately in love with her, that he deny'd her nothing, no not the Plate of the Churches; and that besides her, he kept one *Stephana* and others, the *Lateran* being turned by him into a Brothel House; and that he had given himself wholly up to his Pleasures, and did never express any regard for Religion.

When this Report was made to the good Emperor, he said the Pope was a young Man, and might by the Arm of the highest, and by good Examples and Admonitions be reclaimed; let us therefore said he, go first against *Adelbert*, and having reduced him, we will try what good may be done upon the Pope, of whose Plotting against him, the Emperor was then fully satisfied; the Nuncio's which were sent by the Pope to *Constantinople*, and to *Hungary*, having been taken at *Capua*, with the Pope's Letters about them, and that by the Contrivance, as the Pope suspected, of those who were to have gone to *Constantinople*.

The Pope being much troubled at this, dispatched Nuncio's forthwith to *Otho*, and who having waited on him at *Ravenna*, as he was going against *Adelbert*, they did assure him, that the Pope was grown weary of the

the Pleasures he had been hurried into by the heat of his Youth; and that though he was much the Emperor's Servant, he could not but take it ill that he had entertained two Persons that had been unfaithful to him, and that he had not as yet given him some Lands which he had promised him. *Orho* told the Nuncio's, he was glad to hear of the Pope's having some Thoughts of reforming his Life, and that as to the two Persons who the Pope said had been unfaithful to him, he had never seen either of them, but did hear of their being taken at *Capua*, as they were going from him to *Constantinople*, to his Prejudice; and that with them, two more had been taken, who were *Saleccus* by birth a *Bulgarian*, but a *Hungarian* by Education, and one *Zachary* a most profligate Man, whom, tho' he had no sort of Learning, the Pope had lately made a Bishop, and who were both sent by him into *Hungary*, to stir up the *Hunns* to invade his *Dominions* in *Germany*. These were things he said, he should never have believed, if he had not seen the Pope's own Letter about them; and as to the Lands, he said, until *Adelbert* was drove out of *Italy*, it was not in his Power to give them to the Pope, or to any body else.

The Pope, fearing what might be the issue of this new War which he had raised, did to amuse the Emperor, and to gain time, dispatch other Nuncio's to him; with whom
whilst

whilst the Emperor was treating, *Adelbert*, upon the Pope's Invitation, did throw himself into *Rome*, where he was highly caressed by the Pope, and who did all that was in his Power to ingage the whole City to declare for him. But *Adelbert* and his Friend the Pope had not been long there together, before the Emperor went with his whole Army to have given them a Visit; and who finding that the City would not stand by them, they both left it to the Emperor, who was received by the whole Clergy, and by all the Senators with great Expressions of Joy; and who having all taken an Oath, *never to choose a Bishop of Rome, without the Emperor and his Son Otho's Consent*, did supplicate him to call a Synod presently, to settle Matters. The Emperor did so, and in that Synod, besides the Clergy and Nobles of *Rome*, were present a great Number of *Italian, German, and French* Bishops: The Emperor opened the Synod with a Speech, in which he told them, that tho' it would have been very proper to have had the Pope among them; that since he declined coming, he desired them to consult together about what was necessary to be done. The whole Synod answered that they could not but admire his Majesty's Temper, but there was no need of consulting about the Pope, whose Vices were so Notorious that they were known to the *Caldeans, Iberians, and Indians*; the Pope having scorned to be
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at any Pains to cover them. The Emperor reply'd that tho' it might be so, yet he judg'd it was just to have the Pope's Crimes particularly named, and proved. *Peter* a Cardinal Presbyter standing up, did affirm that he had seen the Pope say Mass without Communicating himself, that he once saw him ordain a Deacon in his Stables: And one *Benedict* and all the rest of the Clergy standing up, did aver that the Pope had ordained Bishops for Money, and had ordained one a Bishop who was but eighteen Years old; and that the Pope's Sacrileges were known to every body, and that besides *Raynerus's* Widow, he kept as his Strumpets, one *Stephana*, who had been his Fathers Concubine, and one *Anna* and her Niece; and that he had put out the Eyes of *Benedict*, his Godfather, who died of it, and had castrated *John* a Subdeacon Cardinal, and had afterwards put him to Death; that he was much addicted to Hunting and Gaming, and did commonly invoke Devils to help him to good Luck, and had often drank the Devil's Health: That he never used any Prayers, nor signed himself with the sign of the Cross; and had been many times seen by the whole City and Army on Horse-back, with a Sword by his Side, and all in Armour. Upon this the black and heavy Charge having been given in by the whole Synod against the Pope, the good Emperor solemnly adjured them all as they should answer

answer it to God, who could not be deceived, not to charge the Pope with any thing out of Malice, or any other Passion; or with any thing that they did not know him to have been guilty of.

The whole Synod reply'd, if Pope *John* is not guilty of all the Crimes, and of many more, and greater than we have laid to his Charge, may our Sins never be forgiven us, and may we at the last Day be set at the Left-hand with those who had bid God depart from them; but the Synod finding the Emperor was still something *Scrupulous*, they desired him to write to the Pope, who was with *Adelbert* but a little way from *Rome*, and to invite him to come among them, to vindicate himself if he could: The Emperor did so, and with his Letter, sent a safe Conduct to the Pope to come, and go. The Pope returned no Answer to the Emperor, but did send word to the Synod, that being informed of their having an intention to depose him, he did in the Name of Almighty God, Excommunicate them all, so that they had no Power to Ordain, nor Celebrate the Mass. The Synod's Answer was, that they regarded Pope *John's* Excommunication no more than they would have done that of the Traytor *Judas*, however the Emperor was resolved to give the Pope one call more; but they that carried his Letters, not having been suffered to see the Pope, they brought them back again

gain with them. Upon that, the Emperor told the Synod, he had deferred telling them of one thing, because he would gladly have had the Pope to have heard it; but since there remained now no hopes of his coming among them, he would tell it them presently; it was, that the Pope finding himself much oppressed by *Berengarius* and *Adelbert*, had sent Nuncio's to him into *Germany*, to beg him, for God's sake, to come to his Relief, promising with an Oath to assist him to the uttermost. Upon that Invitation he had come into *Italy*, and did rescue the Pope out of the Jaws of those Tyrants; but notwithstanding this, and that Pope's having taken a solemn Oath of Fidelity to him, he had brought *Adelbert* back to *Rome*, and raised great Seditions, and appeared against him in Arms, as if he had been a Captain, and not a Bishop; he did therefore require the Synod to consult together what was fit to be done. The whole Synod answered, the Pope ought to be deposed for his Wickedness, and for having by his ill Example debauched the City, and another ought to be chosen in his Room; who will by his good Life, teach People their Duty. The Emperor said there was nothing he desired more than that they should have a good Bishop, and required them to choose such an one. The whole Synod cry'd, we would have the venerable *Leo*, a Man of known Probity, and the Emperor having
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given his Consent to it; *Leo* was chosen and ordained Bishop of *Rome*, by the unanimous Voice of the whole Synod.

By this Act of this good Emperor's and holy Synods, *Baronius* was thrown into a perfect Rage, and does with great Fury declaim, *That never did any Orthodox Synod before, so offend the Ecclesiastical Rights, so violate the Canons, so wound Tradition, so oppress Truth, lay Justice so prostrate, as this Synod had done.* With all which heavy Crimes the Emperor, and the Synod, who by all that appears, were Zealous for God and his Honour, are charged, for no other Reason but for their having deposed a Bishop of *Rome*, whom *Baronius* himself does not deny, to have been one of the greatest Monsters of all sorts of Wickedness that ever was heard of: But whatever *Baronius*, and other politick Papal Parasites, may now think of the *Roman See*, the Bishops and Clergy in those Days, no more than the late Councils of *Pisa*, *Constance*, and *Basil*, did reckon the *Roman See* to have the Privilege, above all others, of not having its Bishops deposed, let them be never so irreligious and wicked; neither did they think that such a Privilege would be of any Advantage to the *Roman*, or to any other *See*. But to return: The Emperor having given the Clergy, and the Senators of *Rome*, the Contentment of easing them of Pope *John*; to make them yet easier, he did order his
Army

Army to leave the City and go into Quarters in the Country, keeping about him, only a few *German* Soldiers, and it was well he did, and that they were brave Men, for he had otherwise certainly been murdered, by a furious Sedition raised in the City by Pope *John's* Strumpets, and other lewd Companions, whom that Pope had, for that end, furnish'd with a great Sum of Money. The Emperor having by the great Valour of the *Germans*, by whom a much greater Number of *Romans* were slain, narrowly escaped this great Danger; he saw plainly the *Romans* were not to be trusted by him: And being by his Affairs obliged to leave *Rome* for some Time, he required an hundred Hostages of the City, intending to have taken them with him as a Pledge of their Fidelity; but Pope *Leo*, to make himself popular in *Rome*, did perswade the Emperor, before he went, to release all those Hostages, and to trust to the new Oath of Fidelity, which had been taken to him by the whole City. This Piece of Policy, or Clemency, had like to have cost that Pope dear, for the Emperor had not left *Rome* long before Pope *John* was by his loose Crew brought, in Triumph, into it again. Pope *Leo* did make his Escape, but one *John* a Cardinal, and the Chancellor *Azon*, having fallen into Pope *John's* Hands, he cut off that Cardinal's Nose, and did slit the Chancellor's, cut out his Tongue, and cut off

off two of his Fingers ; and having mangled them thus, he sent them to the Emperor, and to his new Pope, to be cured by them. And having presently after called a Synod in *Rome*, he reversed all that had been done in the former to his Prejudice. But Pope *John* having, after his Restoration, pursued his lewd Pleasures more eagerly than before, did quickly put a Period both to his Tyranny and to his Life ; for having received a mortal Wound one Night, when he was in Bed with a married Woman, he died of it in eight Days. His untimely Death, was a great Blow to his Party, they nevertheless had the Courage to advance one *Benedict* immediately to the *Roman See* ; but *Benedict* was not able to hold it long, the Emperor, and who brought Pope *Leo* along with him, having returned soon after to *Rome*, he forthwith called a Synod, before which Pope *Benedict* was brought in his Pontifical Robes ; and being asked by one *Benedict* a Cardinal, *how he durst presume to usurp the Roman See, knowing Pope Leo to be alive ; and whether he had forgot the Oath which had been taken by him, and by the whole Clergy, and Nobles of Rome, never to choose a Bishop without the Emperor's Consent.* Pope *Benedict* answered not a Word, but threw himself on the Ground at Pope *Leo's* Feet, and having confessed his Fault, he took off his Pontifical Robes himself and delivered them to *Leo*, and having continued in

in the same Posture ; the following Sentence was passed upon him.

That for having invaded the Roman See, he was deprived of the Honours of a Bishop and Presbyter ; but, upon the Emperor's Intercession for him, was allowed to exercise the Office of a Deacon, but not in Rome, out of which he was to be banished. He was accordingly, the Emperor having taken him into Germany, where he died in Custody of the Bishop of *Hamburgh*.

Pope *Leo* died the same Year, and two Nuncio's were dispatched by the Clergy, and City of *Rome*, into Germany, to know whom the Emperor would have them choose ; *John* Bishop of *Narni*, having been nominated by the Emperor, he was unanimously chosen Bishop of *Rome*.

Baronius, on the Year 996, quotes part of the Decree said to be made by this Pope *Leo*, in which a Power is given to *Otho*, to name his Successors to the Empire, now it being for the Advantage of the *Roman See*, to have this believed ; that Cardinal makes great Use of it in that Place, to prove how great the Authority of that *See* was in those Days, and does treat the Decree it self, and the Pope by whom it was made with respect ; having forgot, or rather hoped that his Readers had, that when that whole Decree was recited by him in the Year 984, he, for its having established, that a Bishop of *Rome* shall never be

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chosen

chosen without the Emperors's Consent, had rejected its Authority, and called it expressly an Imposture, and a spurious Writing, denying the Pope by whom it was said to have been made, to be the true Bishop of *Rome*; and thus it is with all Ancient Writings which do come in that Cardinal's Way, they are all spurious if they have any thing in them, to the Disadvantage of the Papal Authority, and are all certainly genuine if they do any ways seem to make for it, and so here one and the same Decree is for that Reason, both, in distant Places.

The Thirteenth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Benedict* the Sixth, and *Boniface* the Seventh; *Benedict* had sat two Years in the *Roman See*, when he was dragged out of it by *Boniface*, by whom he was first thrown into Prison, and soon after strangled in it: And *Boniface* had sat but a little above a Year in that *See*, when he was forced by another *Benedict*, Bishop of *Sutrum*, to desert it; but before he went, he stripped the Vatican Church of every thing that was in it of any value, and carried it all with him to *Constantinople*; where having remained 'till he heard of the Death of Pope *Benedict* the Seventh, by whom he had been driven away; he returned to *Rome*, and finding *John* the Fourteenth advanced to that *See*, he dragged him out of it too; and having loaded him with

with Chains, he shut him up in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, where he died of Hunger.

Baronius was so much ashamed of this Pope *Boniface*, that he would fain have him not reckoned among the Bishops of *Rome*; but it is now too late for that; for besides that he is in all the Catalogues of their Popes; *Boniface* the Eighth's Number will not be right, if this Pope was not the Seventh of that Name.

The Fourteenth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Gregory* the Fifth, and *John*. *Gregory* was nominated by the Emperor, and upon that Nomination was chosen Bishop of *Rome*; but his Election being opposed by one *Cressentino* a powerful *Roman* Citizen, by his great Power, *John* was chosen in Opposition to him. This Schism lasted not long, and did end tragically; for *Cressentino* was soon after subdued by the Emperor, and his Pope *John* having fallen into his Adversary Pope *Gregory's* Hands, to render him Uncanonical, he had his Eyes dug out, and his Nose cut off.

To this unfortunate Pope *John*, *Nilus* the famous *Greek* Hermit, had been a great Friend; and tho' *John* would not some Years before be perswaded by him to leave the World; yet *Nilus*, when he heard of the Barbarities which had been exercised on *John* in *Rome*, and of his lying there still in a Goal, he did resolve to go into the City, and to
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bring him back with him. The Emperor and the Pope having had Notice that *Nilus* was coming, they went out of the City to meet him, and having conducted him to the *Lateran* Church, and placed him betwixt them, they both kissed his Hand with great Devotion: *Nilus* received all these Complements, but as he told both the Pope and the Emperor, not as extraordinary Honours, but as the greatest Mortifications that he had ever met with in his Life. And after he had been thus sufficiently mortify'd by them, he acquainted them with the Business which had brought him to *Rome*; and did intreat them to deliver his old Friend *John* to him, that they might live together in his Desert to lament their Sins all their Days. The Emperor wept, and told *Nilus*, that if his Sanctity would live in *Rome*, he would not deny him any thing that he should ask. *Nilus* seemed inclinable to accept of the Proposition; but Pope *Gregory* not being fond, it is like, of such Company, he did next Day to rid himself of it, command Pope *John* to be set on an Ass, with his Face towards the Tayl, and holding the Tayl in his Hand, to ride thro' the Streets of *Rome*, saying, all the way, This is the Punishment that he deserv'd, that endeavoured to have thrust the Bishop of *Rome* out of his *See*.

Nilus, who had for the great Mortifications of the extraordinary Honours which
had

had been done him, with Temper enough, could not bear this so, being extreamly incensed when he heard of what had been done to his Friend *John*, after he had spoke for him. For, tho' nothing can make them look proud, Asceticks, if they be not humour'd, are apt to be very angry; as if they thought that denying themselves some things, gave them the Prerogative not to be deny'd any thing by others; and so having told the Bishop, who was sent to him by the Emperor, to excuse what had been done to his Friend; that as the Pope, and the Emperor, had shew'd no Mercy to one that had been so unhappy as to fall into their Hands, so neither would their heavenly Father shew them any Mercy. He flung out of *Rome* in a violent Fret, to return to his more complaisant Solitude; where being highly revered for his Austerities, by all that came near him, he was not in any thing control'd by others: And perhaps this may make Hermits with all their voluntary Mortifications to live easier in their Deserts, than, with their chagrine Tempers, they could live in the World, on the Terms on which other good Men live in it.

The Fifteenth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Benedict* the Ninth, *Silvester*, *John* and *Gratian*; they all sate in that *See*, and did all after that live in *Rome* together. *Benedict* was Son to the Count of *Tusculum*, and
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was by his Father's great Power and Riches, chosen Bishop of *Rome*, when he was but twelve Years Old. As he grew up he deny'd himself no sort of Pleasures; and *Glaber* saith, the Turpitude of his Life was too great to be expressed: And growing every Day worse and worse, he became so intolerable, that after he had sat eleven Years in the *Roman See*, he was driven out of it; and for his Money, *John*, Bishop of *Salinum*, who took the Name of *Silvester*, was chosen in his Place. But *Silvester*, tho' he had bought that *See* very dear, he had not sat four Months in it, when he was, by the great Power of Pope *Benedict's* Relations, dismounted, and *Benedict* was restored; who finding that he could not be easy in his Pleasures in that Post, left it, and retired to his Father's House, having first received a great Sum of Money from *John* the Arch-Presbyter, who was chosen in his Room. Whilst that Money lasted *Benedict* gave his Chapman no trouble; but as soon as it was all spent, as it was in a short time, he invaded the *Lateran Church*; and having chased *John* out of it, he resumed the Pontifical Habit, and Authority; not to hold them long, but to sell them a second Time, as he did, to one *Gratian* a Presbyter; and who having likewise bought out the other two Popes, he was chosen, and did take the Name of *Gregory*; and to make *Benedict*, the Power of whose great Family he still dreaded,

easy

easy in his Pleasures, he settled on him for his Life all the Papal Revenues arising out of *England*; a very good Account how our Money, that went to *Rome* was expended there.

Now is it not a hard Case, that when ever there is a Knot of simonaical, and vile Popes, with doubtful Titles, that poor Protestants must be pelted with hard Names for looking upon them, as they are here by *Baronius*, who calls them on this Occasion, profligate Innovators and Rebels; and to stop their Mouths that they may never dare to open them any more against vile Popes, let them come never so thick upon them; he tells them gravely, that the *See* of *Rome* suffered in all this, and ought not therefore to be reproach'd for it, no more than a Man that is so unhappy as to fall into the Hands of Robbers, ought to be reproached for having been robbed by them.

Now, what *Baronius* saith here of the *Roman See's* having been a Sufferer by its having had so many abominable Popes, with doubtful Titles, is certainly true: And if by those Disgraces, and by no other *See's* that we read of, ever having had near so many Simonaicks, and Monsters of Vice in it, the *Roman See* had been thought to have been modest, and humble, as it ought to have been, it would then indeed have been barbarous to have insulted over it, on the the account of those great Blots; but when that *See* is so far from

this, that it values its self highly on the Pre-
 tence of a certain and uninterrupted Succes-
 sion of Bishops down from *St. Peter*, and on
 that Succession's being so, has built a Supre-
 macy over all other Churches, this can't but
 raise an Indignation in all unprejudiced Minds,
 and provoke them, in *Baronius's* Language,
 to call this a most Profligate and Impudent
 bearing down of the common Sense of Man-
 kind, in facing the World down, that a Chain
 is whole, that has visibly above twenty broken
 Links in it, and may probably have many
 more; nor can *Baronius's* canting over those
 broken Links, and applying to them those
 Words of the Prophet *David*, *Many times from*
my Youth up have they fought against me may
Israel now say, &c. Soder them so together,
 as to make them look whole.

The Sixteenth Schism in the *Roman See*,
 was betwixt *Benedict* and *Nicholas*. Pope
Stephen, who was a great Friend to *Hilde-*
brand, and would gladly have had him for
 his Successor, finding himself drawing near
 the End of his Days, he sent him into *Ger-*
many to procure, as it was supposed, the Em-
 peror's Nomination; and that there might
 be no Election before he came back, *Ste-*
phen, upon his Death-bed, did Anathema-
 tize all that should go about to choose a Bi-
 shop of *Rome* before *Hildebrand* was return'd.
 But as nothing is less regarded than the
 Commands, as well as the Bodies of dying
 Princes,

Princes ; so notwithstanding this Precaution, *Stephen's* Breath was no sooner out of his Body, than one *John*, who took the Name of *Benedict*, was, without staying for the Emperor's Nomination, chosen Pope ; in Opposition to which Election *Gerard* Bishop of *Florence*, who took the Name of *Nicholas*, was named by the Empress Dowager, her Son not being of Age : And who having upon that Nomination been chosen Pope at *Sienna*, he was soon after by the Power of the Empire, and the Managery of his Friend *Hildebrand*, put in Possession of the *Roman See*. This Pope *Nicholas* is said by some to have made a Decree against the Emperor's having any Power in the Election of the Bishop of *Rome*, notwithstanding it was by the Emperor's Nomination that he was elected, and *Benedict*, for having been chose without it, was laid aside. But whether any such Decree was made by that Pope or not, who sate but little above two Years, it is certain that *Hildebrand* his Governour, had at that time such a Decree hatching in his Head ; and which made some Discovery of its self at the very next Election. Now that *Hildebrand*, who but two Years before was so zealous in asserting the Right of the Emperor's Nomination, as to have a Pope laid aside for his not having had it, should now be as zealous against that Nomination, is not at all to be wondred at ; for that Monk had but one

one steady Principle, which was to be for or against any thing, as the Views of his Ambition directed him.

The Seventeenth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Alexander* and *Honorius*.

The Clergy of *Rome*, but above all the rest *Hildebrand*, having, if it was possible, a great mind to bring the Election of their Bishop entirely into their own Hands, they judged this to be a proper time enough to offer at it, the Emperor being very young, and without any Armies in *Italy* : So *Alexander* was chosen by them without staying for the Emperor's Nomination. They did nevertheless, after they had made that bold Step, excuse it to the Emperor, by pretending that they had no intention to lessen the Emperor's Authority by the Election they had made, but had been compell'd to it, to prevent a Sedition which was ready to have broke out in the City ; and that even under that Compulsion, they had paid so much respect to the Emperor, and to his Authority, as not to choose one of their own Body, but a Bishop who had been his Domestick, and for whom they knew he had a great Affection. Their having on this Occasion chose a Bishop, who it is like would have been named by the Emperor, if they had waited for his Nomination; was a cunning trick enough to have kept this Election from being reversed, as an Election had been not three Years before for want of
it ;

it ; yet the *Germans* were not so dull, as to have that Trick put upon them by the *Italians*, nor was their kindness for *Alexander* so great, as for his sake to allow of such an ill President. The Emperor did therefore to assert his Right, nominate *Cadalaus* Bishop of *Parma*, but who, by reason of the great Distractions which were in *Germany*, could have but little Assistance from his Patron. However having a good Purse of his own, he went to *Rome* with a considerable Force, but not being strong enough to carry his Point, he retreated to wait for Succors from *Germany* : And in the mean while, he was furiously persecuted by Letters writ to him by *Peter Damianus*, who had been a Monk, but was now brought by *Hildebrand* to be a Cardinal, and Arch-Bishop of *Ostium* : on purpose to engage him in the Interest of the Papal Authority, against the Imperial, which *Hildebrand* was now contriving how to pull down in *Italy*.

Damianus's Name was high for the Austerity of his Life in his Monastery, out of which he pretended he had been drawn much against his Will, and in the low ebb Learning was in at that time in the *West*, he had a good proportion of it ; his chief Talent lay in declaiming and pelting all that displeased him, after a most furious manner, with all the hard Names which are given in the Scriptures to the worst of Persons and Things ;
and

and which were all poured out by him upon *Cadalaus* without Measure, who in one breath was called by him, *A Disturber of the Holy Church, the Subverter of Ecclesiastical Discipline, the Enemy of Man's Salvation, the Devil's Trumpeter, the Apostle of Antichrist, an Arrow drawn out of Satan's Quiver, the Rod of Assur a Son of Belial, the Son of Perdition, the black Dragon*; and with such Flowers as these, that monkish Cardinal's Letters to Pope *Cadalaus* are plentifully garnished. But at the same time, that Cardinal was so far from denying the Right of nominating the Bishop of *Rome*, to be in the Emperor, for things were not ripe enough for that yet, that in several places in those Letters, he acknowledgeth, that Right to be in the Emperor, and instead of justifying the last Election of the Bishop of *Rome* having been made without it, he only excuses it, by saying that the Emperor being a Child at that time; the *Roman* Church as his Guardian, had in his Minority chosen a Bishop without his Nomination, but without any intention to make that a President for the future. All which was unsaid at the very next Election, when *Hildebrand* was chosen without having stay'd for the Emperor's Nomination; or if it was not unsaid so soon as that Election, yet it was openly and avowedly unsaid by *Hildebrand*, and his Monks before his Death.

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The Empire being still in so distracted, and feeble a Condition, that it was not able to send any Armies into *Italy* to maintain its Right of Nomination, or to support Bishop *Cadalaus* : The Bishop of *Cologne* was sent to *Rome* to assert that Right, and who as he appears not to have been a proper Man, to have been sent thither on that Errand, being a great Friend to Pope *Alexander*, and an Enemy to Pope *Cadalaus* ; so his Negotiation succeeded accordingly : for tho' he did, when he came to *Rome*, ask the Pope, *How came it to pass, Brother Alexander, that you accepted of the Roman See without the King my Master's Orders ; since for a long time our Kings have been in Possession of this Right, that a Pope cannot be chosen without their Consent*, and did also produce a long List of Presidents of it ; yet having been answered, not by the Pope, but by his Governor *Hildebrand*, that according to the Canons, the Emperor had nothing to do in the Election of that Bishop, *Cologne* is said to have been so fully satisfy'd ; that he had not a Word more to say ; which he would certainly have had, had he not been an unfaithful Embassador, and without any Zeal for the Cause he was sent to *Rome* to defend.

The Eighteenth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Gregory* the Seventh, or *Hildebrand*, and *Guibert*.

Pope

Pope *Alexander* was no sooner dead, than *Hildebrand*, was without staying for the Emperor's Nomination, presently chosen Bishop of *Rome*; and tho' but five Years before, and by *Hildebrand's* means, a Pope had been laid aside for not having had that Nomination, and but four Years before, a Pope having been chosen without it, was excused to the Emperor by *Hildebrand*, and his Brethren, as an Irregularity they had been compell'd to. Nevertheless the Empire being at that time in a feeble State, and without any Arms in *Italy*, this Election, having been made without that Nomination, was justify'd.

This *Gregory* is by the *German*, and by most other Writers in and about his time, made one of the falsest, and most wicked of Men; but is by all the Papal Parasites and Champions, for the great Service he did the *See of Rome*, in being the first that threw down the Papal Gauntlet against the Emperors, magnify'd beyond measure, not only as a good Pope, but as a good Man likewise. As to the personal Vices this Pope is charged with, tho' we should not be certain of his having been guilty of them; yet as to his Papal and Politick, it is manifest from his whole Conduct, that no Runagate Monk, and which *Hildebrand* was, could be more false, violent, and ambitious, and implacable; and this was so well known, that neither *Hildebrand's* devout Petition to the *Roman* Clergy, not to offer to proceed

proceed to an Election of a Pope, until they had prayed and fasted three Days for God's Directions; nor the Sighs and Groans, where-with he expressed his unwillingness to be chosen, nor his Complaining at *Rome*, and by Letters in other Parts, how heavy a Mortification it was to him, that that Election had fallen upon him; nor his having supplicated the Emperor to avoid that Election, for having been made without his Consent, could cure the World, which had seen *Hidelbrand* Angling for a long time after that Dignity, of the belief of his having procured it for himself by a long train of Frauds, and with great Sums of Money. On the contrary his having used so many Tricks to palliate his Simony, did but confirm them the more in the belief of it. But by what steps soever *Hildebrand* did climb up into that *See*, he was not warm in it, before he gave the Emperor cause to repent of his having deny'd to void his Election when he supplicated him to do it: Having upon real or pretended Crimes, and which he was good at Inventing, and bold in Asserting, Excommunicated the Emperor, and threatned him with a Deprivation; neither was there a Sovereign Prince almost in *Europe*, whom he had not upon some Pretence or other threatned with the same Treatment.

The Emperor having for near eight Years endured the fury of this violent Pope, and
who

who was upheld in it chiefly by the great Power of *Mathilda* Countess of *Liguria* and *Tuscia*, with whom he was accused of being too Familiar, he could not bear it any longer. And so having resolved if it were possible to put a full stop to it, he did first assemble a Council at *Mentz*, and soon after one in *Brixia*, in which *Hildebrand*, was by an unanimous Voice pronounced an Invader of the *Roman See*; it being manifest, saith that Synod, that he was not chosen of God Bishop of *Rome*, but by himself, by means of Frauds and Money, and that by him all Ecclesiastical Order was subverted, and the Christian Empire disturbed, and Seditions, and Scandals, raised in all Parts. And having thus declared *Hildebrand*, whom they called an Apostate Monk, not to have any Right to the *Roman See*; *Guibert*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, was chosen by them, upon the Emperor's Nomination.

This Synod met in *Brixia*, in the Year 1080, and from this time the Date of the *Guelph*, and *Gibbeline* Parties in *Italy*, which divided that Country so many Years, and worry'd one another so unmercifully, may I believe be taken; that Party which adhered to the Emperor's, having it is like been called *Gibbelines* from this *Guibert*, who was chosen Pope at the Emperors Nomination; and the Party which contended for the Pope's, having perhaps been in Contempt called *Welpbs* or

or *Whelphs*, by the *Germans*, came by the *Italians* to be called *Guelphs*. The German Names which begin with a *W*, as *William* and *Walter*; being writ and pronounced by the *Italians*, with a *G*, as *Gulliam* and *Gualter*; or if this be not the Reason of that Name, it may have come from *Welpo* Son to the Duke of *Bavaria*, who was by the Pope to strengthen himself in *Germany*, married to the Countess *Maud*, the devout Servant of the *Hildebrandian* Party; but to return.

Hildebrand, having been thus laid aside, and *Clement* promoted to the *Roman See*, the Emperor by the following Letter acquainted *Hildebrand* with what he had done.

Henry, not by *Usurpation*, but by God's Holy Ordination, King, to *Hildebrand*, not now *Apostolical*, but a false Monk.

FOR your Confusion, you do deserve this Salutation, there being no Order in the Church which you have not filled with Confusion, and not with Honour, and with Cursing, and not with Blessing; to speak of many Things in a few Words: The Rectors of the Holy Church, Archbishops, Bishops or Presbyters, ye have not only not been afraid to touch; for their being the Lords Anointed, but not regarding what

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their Lord will do, ye have trod them under
 your Feet, and by trampling upon them, as if
 they knew nothing, and you knew all Things,
 you have procured to your self the good word of
 the Vulgar, and which Knowledge you have
 made use of to Destruction, and not to Edifica-
 tion; insomuch that we have cause to believe,
 that the blessed Gregory, whose Name you have
 taken, did prophesie concerning you; when he
 said, out of Affluence of the Subjects, the Mind
 of the Prelate is often exalted, and who thinks
 he knows more than all others, because he can do
 more than they. We out of the Respect we had
 for the Apostolical See, endured all these things;
 and that Humility of ours, having been inter-
 preted by you to be Fear, you were not afraid
 to rise against our Kingly Power given us of
 God, and have dared to threaten to deprive us
 of it, as if we had received our Kingdom from
 you, or as if our Kingdom and Empire were in
 your Hands, and not in God's: And to which
 we were called by our Lord Jesus Christ, by
 whom you were not called to the Priesthood,
 which you ascended by the steps of Crafts and
 Frauds, and did, what the Monkish Profession
 abominates, purchase Favour with Money, and
 the Sword with Favour, and with which you
 invaded that See of Peace, and have driven
 Peace out of it; having armed the Subjects a-
 gainst their Prelates, and taught them to des-
 pise our Bishops, who were called of God, which
 you

you were not. Concluding this Letter with the following Commination.

Thou that art condemned by St. Paul, with an Anathema, and by all our Bishops, come down and leave the Apostolical See, which thou hast usurped, that another may ascend, who does not palliate Religion with Violence, and who will teach the Sound Doctrine of St. Peter.

At the same time the Emperor by a Letter exhorted the People of Rome, as followeth.

Rise up most Faithful, and let the first in Fidelity, be the first to condemn Hildebrand; we say not this, that ye should shed his Blood, for after this Condemnation, Life will be a greater Punishment to him than Death. But that if he will not descend you do pull him down, that you may receive one into the Apostolical See, whom we have chosen with the common Consent of all our Bishops, and by your Advice, and who will cure the Wounds in the Church which have been given by Hildebrand.

Hildebrand perceiving the Emperor was now in Earnest, and doubting much whether his close Friend Maud, would be strong enough to defend him, he threw himself into the Arms of Count Guiscard, the Captain of the Normans, who had overrun a great Part of Italy; and who till now had been Excommunicated by him; and Guiscard being glad to have such an Ally against the Empe-

peror, he did take an Oath to maintain *Hildebrand* in the *Roman See*, in Peace and Honour against all Mortals, and did also promise Lands, and some other Advantages to that *See*. And by this means, as I have hinted before, the Popes had Territories given them by Princes, who stood in need of their Assistance, to help themselves no more, or to settle them and their Posterity in them.

Hildebrand having thus fortify'd himself, did begin to roar louder against the Emperor than he had done before; and did call all Christians to his Assistance, and to encourage them to come in, he told them as a Prophet, that the Emperor having God and *St. Peter* against him, would be presently cast down. But the madness of this Prophet was soon rebuked by Experience, the Emperor having, within a few Months after that Denunciation, obtained an entire Victory over *Rodulph*, who had by *Hildebrand's* Practices, been set up Emperor against him.

Rodulph having been slain in that Battle, *Hildebrand* fearing the Emperor would follow his Blow, and come and give him a Visit at *Rome*, he deny'd he had any Hand in *Rodulph's* having taken up Arms, and tho' nothing was farther from his Thoughts, he did talk of having a general Council called to settle all Affairs.

But

But the Emperor who knew *Hildebrand* too well to trust to any thing that he said, did enter *Italy* with a brave *German* Army, and having with difficulty, by reason of the great strength of the *Normans*, at last became Master of *Rome*, out of which *Hildebrand* had fled some time before; he put Pope *Clement*, whom he had brought with him, into the Possession of the *Roman See*, and was crowned Emperor by him soon after.

The Emperor had not been long in *Rome*, before he had like to have been assassinated by a *Russian* in a Church as he was at Prayers; and which *Russian*, Cardinal *Benno* saith, was employed by *Hildebrand* to commit that Villany.

The Emperor in a short time after, having by his Affairs been called into *Germany*, that he might not leave Pope *Clement* at the mercy of *Hildebrand* and his *Normans*, he left a strong Garrison in *Rome*: And being come into *Germany*, he called a Council at *Mentz*, in which *Hildebrand's* having been lay'd aside, and *Guibert's* having been exalted to the *Roman See*, was approved of and confirmed.

Hildebrand, who had never returned to *Rome* after he was chased out of it by the Emperor, died the same Year at *Salernum*, and if we may believe some *Hildebrandians* Miracles were wrought by his dead Body.

Baronius saith, he hath as a Saint, an Anniverfary in the *Roman Church*. I find his Name indeed in the *Roman Martyrology*, on the twenty fifth of *May*, but its not being to be met with in the *Luca, Anwerp, Corby*, or any other Ancient *Martyrology*, makes me suspect that it has not been long in the *Roman*; in the Re-forming of which *Baronius* had the chief Hand. Not that *Hildebrand* does not, and for the very same sort of Merits, deserve a Place in that *Martyrology* as well as *Thomas a Becket*, and divers others that are named in it.

It was near a Twelve Month after *Hildebrand's* Death before his Party had the Courage to set up a Pope, in opposition to *Clement*; but having received the joyful News of the Emperor's being routed in *Germany* by the *Suevi*, they took heart, and did choose *Desiderius* Abbot of *Cassinum*, who had been named by *Hildebrand* for his Successor; knowing him to be a proper Man to take up the Cudgels against the Emperor.

This Monk did fence longer against his being chosen, and with a seeming greater Sturdiness, than *Hildebrand*, or any other Monk that I have read of; however according to the Monkish Custom, he yielded at last, and did give way to its being done. And this being constantly the issue of all Monks struglings against Dignities; and which they do all use of course, reflects not a little on their

their Sincerity, and on that profound Humility and Contempt of the World, out of which all those Monkish struglings would be thought to arise. But whether this Monk was chose willingly, or unwillingly; yet being chosen, his great Humility hindred him not from bearing the Name of *Victor*, in which he was no Prophet, tho' I think he is said by some to have been one; for having soon after his Election, marched into *Rome* with a good Force, he was after a bloody Conflict driven out of it, by the superior Strength of his Rival Pope *Clement*. Neither did he ever return to *Rome* any more; and having died a few Months after that Repulse, on his Death-Bed, he did after the Example of *Hildebrand*, and of some others, to perpetuate the Quarrel that was on Foot, name for his Successor *Otho*, Archbishop of *Ostium*, whom he knew to be a fit Man for that Purpose; and *Otho* having been chosen presently, did take the Name of *Urban*.

This *Urban* was *Hildebrand's* Nuncio in *Germany*, and had there pronounced *Hildebrand's* Excommunication against the Emperor, and all that adhered to him: Neither did *Urban* disappoint the Hopes of him that named him, nor of those that chose him, he having immediately after his Election, declared, that he would tread in *Hildebrand's* Steps, and if it were possible would perfect the great Work which he had begun. And

knowing that it would be in vain to set about it, if he were not sure of a Power that was able to support him against the Emperor, who began to recover Strength again in *Germany*. He struck up an Alliance presently with *Roger*, and *Boemund*, two powerful *Norman* Princes, who had conquered *Sicily* and *Apulia*, and some other *Italian* Provinces; and which *Normans* having been invested by him in those Lands, they did take an Oath to support him in the *Roman See*: And that he might likewise ingage some powerful *German* Princes on his side against the Emperor, he did oblige the Countess *Mathilda* to marry with *Welfo*, Son to the Duke of *Bavaria*; and which, as a most dutiful Daughter to the *Roman Church*, she is said to have done, purely in Obedience to the Pope, and for to promote his Interest. But whatever it was that moved *Mathilda* to marry *Welfo*, that *German* Prince, who was young enough to have been her Grandson, married her only to have been her Heir; but of that he was wiped by the Pope, who having made use of him against the Emperor, got the old Countess for to leave all her Territories from her young Husband, with whom she is said to have lived in a perfect Continency, to the *See of Rome*.

Urban having strengthen'd himself thus, did revive and thunder out *Hildebrand's* Excommunications against the Emperor, and
against

against all his Friends; and did likewise Excommunicate Pope *Clement*, and all his Adherents; and that these his Excommunications might have their desir'd effect, he commanded *Godfrey* Bishop of *Luca*, not to lay the Penances of Murderers on those, who burning with Zeal for their Catholick Mother, did slay any that were Excommunicated.

Urban, tho' he had not Strength enough to settle himself in *Rome*, yet having so many powerful Allies, he triumphed for near six Years in the greatest part of *Italy*, and did lay about him in most Places, after the Example of *Hildebrand*: Until at last the Emperor was provoked by him, to enter into *Italy*, and who having taken the City of *Mantua*, and reduced divers Countries to his Obedience. *Urban* perceiving there was not a Power in *Italy* able to cope with him, he did in all likelihood, persuade *Conrade* the Emperor's own Son, to take up Arms against his Father: but as there is in Monks, beyond all other Men, a strange Confidence to blacken all that they are displeased with, with outrageous Calumnies of their own inventing; and which they do assert with a boldness not to be shaken, so to make the Emperor odious, and to excuse the Pope from having had any hand in that unnatural Rebellion, they reported that *Conrade* had been forced to take up Arms against his Father, who otherwise would

would have slain him, for having when he commanded him, refused to deflower his Bed. But whether *Urban* had any hand in the raising of that unnatural Rebellion or not, certain it is that he encouraged it very much, and did make great use of it to promote his ambitious Designs; for *Conrade* after he had overrun *Lombardy*, having gone to *Cremona* to visit his Friend *Urban*; to make his Court to that proud Pope, he held his Stirrup, and who having taken an Oath to maintain him in the *Roman See*, *Urban* to confirm *Conrade* in his Rebellion against his Father, received him as the Son of the *Roman Church*; and having helpt him to a Mother, he did publicly promise to assist him, to the utmost of his Power, to help him to his Father's Kingdoms and Empire, without waiting for his Death, and to supply him with a great Sum of Money, to carry on the War against his Father, he married him to a Daughter of *Roger* the *Norman King of Sicily*, with whom he had a very great Portion.

By these means *Urban* gathered Strength enough to carry him to *Rome*, where he remained till he died, but was never without Disturbances; his Rival Pope *Clement* survived him, and did glory much in three of his Antagonist's having gone off the Stage before him, making it an Argument of Heavens approving of his Title to the *Roman See*.

But the *Hildebrandians* were at that time

too strong to regard such notices, and so did immediately upon *Urban's* death choose the Monk *Rimerus*, who had long before left his Monastery, and was then a Cardinal Presbyter; he took the Name of *Paschal*, and in all papal Respects was another *Hildebrand*. And Pope *Clement* having died the Year after, one *Albert* was chose Bishop of *Rome* upon the Emperor's Nomination; and after *Albert* one *Theodorick*, and after *Theodorick* one *Maginulphus*, but who, by reason of the great Weakness, their Patron the Emperor was reduced to, by his rebellious Son, and by the *Normans*, were never able to make head against *Paschal*. Who did therefore, for the seventeen Years that he was Pope, domineer in *Italy* and in all other Parts, in a most brutal manner. And that the *Roman See* in its Quarrels with the *Empire*, might not still be only on the Defensive, *Paschal* deny'd to the Emperors the Investiture of the Bishops and Abbots within their Dominions, and which, tho' it was plainly an Act of a temporal Nature, being only on the Account of the great Temporalities which the Bishops and Abbots were possessed of; yet was by a violent Monkish boldness faced down by *Paschal*, and his Monkish Successors, to be a Spirituality; and who, contrary to all Sense and Reason, maintain'd it to be so, at the cost of many thousands of Christians Lives; forsooth, because the Staff and the Ring, which were

were made use of in that Homage were sacred Things.

But as the Emperors, nor no other Sovereigns, could ever part with the Substance of those Investitures, unless the Bishops and Abbots, would first quit all the Temporalities they had within their Territories, and which was an Expedient that was once thought of, for to have put an end to that long Quarrel; so the Popes, who to be sure did not like that Expedient, after they had for many Years at the expence of a Sea of Christian Blood, worried the Emperors about those Investitures, did at last fairly give them up, only that the whole World might not cry shame on them, for their having raised so many Rebellions, and made so great Slaughters and Devastations, to no end and purpose; they were gratified with the Ceremony of the Staff and Ring being laid aside, a worthy Point to justify so tragical a Scene. And tho' to have required their Sovereign Lords and Emperors, to have changed that ancient harmless Ceremony, would have been an unreasonable thing in the Bishops of *Rome*; yet I doubt not, but if that would have contented them, the Emperors rather than have undergone one quarter of the trouble which they met with, would have gratify'd them with that Change. But whoever shall look into the bottom of that Affair will see, the Bishops of *Rome* made use of it, only as a Pretence
for

for the carrying on *Hildebrand's* Design of destroying the Strength of the *Empire in Italy*, and that if they had not Light on this, they would have devised some other, tho' I do not think it was possible for them, to have started one that had less Justice or Sense in it, than this of the Investitures. In truth, it is not to any thing so much, as to this long and continued Succession of Men in the *Roman See*, who had by solemn Vows, particularly renounced the World, and all its Pomps and Glories, that that *See* owes its great temporal Authority, Grandeur and Splendour. For let what will be the Cause of it, there is visibly in all Monks, who by their Parts, Learning or Cunning, do raise themselves to any high Posts in Government; a Pride, Avarice and an inflexible Violence, and keenness of Spirit, far beyond what there is in any other sort of People: And as by those Dispositions, and a thousand Tricks, those Monkish Popes did exalt themselves above all that are called God's, so by them, their Civil Government became so unsupportable, that the whole City of *Rome* did rise up against it; and having chased Pope *Eugenius* the Third, and all his Monkish Cardinals out of *Rome*, and pulled down their magnificent Palaces, as no proper Dwellings for People of their Vows and Professions, they declared they would never suffer the Pope to be their Prince, nor to meddle with any Affairs besides his
own

own Spiritualities ; and which Storm raised in *Rome* by the ill Dispositions of the Monkish Popes and Cardinals, lasted several Years.

And as to the Secular Clergy, Bishops and Parish Priests, they, as the Emperor well observed in his Letter to *Hildebrand*, were trampled on by those Monkish Popes and Cardinals, as if they had been the Off-scouring of the Earth ; and were by them to enrich the Monasteries, reduced to great Poverty. And which Poverty lies still heavy on the Parochial Clergy of that rich Church, as it does likewise on too many of the Parochial Clergy in the Church of *England*, whose Tythes having been taken from them by such Popes, and bestowed on Monasteries, were not restored upon the Dissolution of those Bodies, as it were to be wished they had been, and that they by whom the Monasteries were dissolved, had been satisfied with all the Lands they found them in Possession of, but had returned all the Tythes to the Vicars.

The Nineteenth Schism in the *Roman See*, which began in the Year 1130, was betwixt *Innocent* a Monk, and *Anacletus*, they were both chosen in *Rome*, on the same Day Pope *Honorius* died.

Anacletus, whose Name before was *Peter Leoni*, was of a great Family in *Rome*, and being also very rich, he did quickly drive his Competitor, not only out of the City, but out of *Italy* also ; and he having fled into *France*, *Anacletus* did excommunicate and de-

depose him, and all that adhered to him. *Anacletus's* Election is, by *Innocent's* Friends, said to have been Simonaical and Violent ; and *Innocent's* Election is by *Anacletus's* Friends, said to have been made clandestinely in a Corner, only by a handful of Men, and who until they had made it, did conceal *Honorius's* being dead. Both which Reports are likely enough to be true, and whereas the Monks, who were all on their Brother *Innocent's* side had, according to their Custom, raised and spread Reports in all Places, of *Anacletus's* having robbed all the rich Churches in *Rome*, and committed many more Outrages in it : The Bishop of *Portua*, in a Letter which he writ to several Bishops, saith, *These are things no Body in Rome had seen nor knew any thing of.* And *Anacletus* himself in a Letter to *Lotharius* the Emperor tells him, *That Innocent, who was fled, after Cain's Example, had been clandestinely, and most irregularly chosen, by a handful of the Clergy ; whereas he had been chosen Bishop of Rome by the great Body of them, and with the Approbation of the whole City, with the usual Solemnities, and who did all at that time acknowledge him to be their Bishop :* The same is also affirmed in a Letter writ to the Emperor, signed by above twenty Cardinals, and a great many other *Roman* Bishops, and Ecclesiasticks ; and who did intreat the Emperor not to give any Credit to the Lyes which were raised, and spread about by
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Fanaticks, meaning the Monks, nor to the Chancellor *Himericus*, the great Supporter of *Innocent*, whom he knew for a long time to have prostituted the *Roman* Church as a vile Strumpet for his Luxuries and Avarice. A Letter was also soon after written to the Emperor by the Prefect of the City, and by the Nobles, and People of *Rome*; in which having told the Emperor, that no Election was ever more regular than that of *Anacletus*, they complained of the Emperor's not having answered two Letters which had been writ to him by that Pope; a Legat was also sent by *Anacletus* to the Court of *France*, to acquaint that King with the Justice and Regularity of his Election; and knowing the Monks to be his fiercest and most dangerous Enemies, he did, to stop their Mouths if it were possible, send a Letter by a Cardinal to the Monks of *Cluny*. And having acquainted them with his Election's having been Canonical beyond all Expectation, and approved of by the whole City; he subjoyns the following Character of the People, who by choosing of another, had in vain endeavoured to defeat it.

Some false Brethren, saith Anacletus, the Sons of Belial, and of Pestilence, and Sons of Agar, whose Wisdom is of the Earth, being drunk with the Cup of the Wrath of the Almighty, did with a wicked Boldness set themselves against the Divine Disposition, and Ecclesiastical
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Constitution, and who had for their Head Himericus, formerly Chancellor of the Roman Church, who was a Slave to Avarice, a Patron of Stage-Players and Buffoons, a Robber of Churches, and a vile Oppressor of the Servants of God, and who being another Gehazi, had by publick and private Simonies, inherited the Leprosy of Naaman, and the Curse of the Almighty: With a great deal more such angry Stuff.

But the Monks were too zealous to keep the Papacy among them, to be moved by any Arguments, to desert their Brother *Innocent*; for *Bernard*, who was *Innocent's* chief Champion, tells us, that the *Camalduilians*, *Uallambrosians*, *Carthusians*, *Clunians*, *Cisterfians*, and the whole World of Monks, were all for Pope *Innocent*: In *Sicily* indeed some Monks did seem to favour *Anacletus*, but they were undoubtedly compelled to make that Profession, by their Duke *Roger*, to whom, to engage him on his Side, *Anacletus* had given the Crown of that *Island*.

Whilst *Anacletus* was thus active to establish himself, his Competitor *Innocent* was not idle in *France*, where having the Monk *St. Bernard* on his Side, and who had a Vision in his Brother *Innocent's* Favour, he did carry all before him in that Kingdom.

Bernard was indeed a Man of curious natural Parts, and withal had the largest Stock of Learning of any in his unlearned Age; but as to his Visions, the deplorable End of
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that vast Western Army he was the great Instrument of sending into the Holy Land, by Preaching up that Expedition with great Zeal, and by assuring those unhappy Men upon a Divine Vision of Victory, and of good Success, does very much lessen the Authority of all his Visions. And as *Innocent*, after he once had *Bernard*, kept him still near him, and did nothing without his Council; so *Bernard's* Letters in his Favour, which was writ in a devout Strain, did fly about, to persuade the Emperor, the King of *England*, and divers other Princes, to acknowledge *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*. And as *Innocent* at long run had the better of *Anacletus*, so he owed that Victory chiefly to the great Zeal his Brethren the Monks shewed for him in all Parts, but above all to *Bernard*; who, according to his Custom, did assure all People that he had the Word of God for *Innocent's* being the true Bishop of *Rome*. However, upon *Anacletus's* Death, which happen'd eight Years after his Election, the Cardinals that had adher'd to him to the last, did choose one *Gregory*, a Cardinal Presbyter, Pope, who took the Name of *Victor*. But his Success answer'd not his Name, for in a short time he was forced to bow down before *Innocent*, by whose Armies of Monks, Matters were driven on with an Impetuosity, it was scarce possible for any thing to withstand: By which Monkish Impetuosity, and Papal

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Indulgences, the *Western* World, to make Elbow-room for the Popes, none of which ever went thither themselves, was hurled into the *East*; where after having endured unspeakable Miseries, they found their Graves in heaps. Whilst the *Western* Princes were by *Bernard*, and other visionary Monks, engaged in those remote Expeditions, to the great Hazard of their Persons, and to the exhausting of their Countries both of Men and Money; the Popes were quietly at work at home, exalting themselves and their See; and their Monks with their pretended Visions, having been the Trumpeters to raise all those vast Armies, and their Indulgences the Levy Money; the Popes were for that reason the Generalissimo's of them all, tho' not one of them did ever venture his own Person with any of those Armies; though to set them a going, they did sometimes talk of accompanying them. And of this Commission, of being Generalissimo of all *Croisado's*; for so those funestous Expeditions were called; the Popes did make great use after the *Western* World was grown sick of them, at so great a distance. For as they who gave Money towards the carrying on those *Croisado's*, did partake of their plenary Indulgences no less than they who ventured their Persons in them; so the Popes did for a long time, whenever they wanted Money much, by their Monks proclaim a *Croisado*,

with a Tender of their Indulgences, which they knew would certainly bring Money into their Treasures from devout Persons, though they would not be able to raise one Man ; neither did the Popes intend they should, that so they might keep all that Money to themselves. There was another great Use the Popes made of that Commission, which was, by the same means, to raise *Croisado's* to destroy all at home, that would not submit to their Authority ; and by such *Croisado's*, some hundreds of thousands of poor *Waldenses* were murdered in *France*, for having deny'd the Pope's Supremacy, and all his new Anti-Christian Doctrines. The wicked Crew of People, of which all *Croisado's* consisted, rejoicing to have their Sins all forgiven them, upon so much easier Terms than the former *Croisado's* had theirs ; who, if they did not die by the Way, as many of them did, must go as far as *Palestine* or *Egypt* to die there, to partke of the Benefit of those Indulgences. For it is certain that of the common Soldiers that went, not one of a Thousand of them did ever return to *Europe*, or did live to any great Age in the *East*. These funestous *Croisado's* may well be reckon'd to have been amongst the chief and worst Sorceries of Popery.

The Twentieth Schism in the *Roman See* was betwixt *Gelasius* and *Gregory*, commonly call'd *Burdon*.

Paschal

Paschall the Third having died in the Year 1110, the Emperor, to whom that Pope had broke the most solemn Oath concerning the Investitures of Bishops and Abbots, that was perhaps ever taken by any Man. Being at that time in *Italy*, he did intend to have asserted the Ancient Imperial Right of Nominating the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have taken care to have filled that *See*, with one that should not after the Example of the late *Hildebrandian* Popes, make it his Business to excite the *Normans* and other Nations, to joyn to break the Strength and Authority of the *Roman* Empire in *Italy*. But before the Emperor, though he was but in *Lombardy*, could get to *Rome*, the nimble old Cardinals had fill'd that *See*, having chosen the Chancellor, Cardinal *John Cajetan* Pope, who took that Name of *Gelasius*.

The Emperor, when he first heard of that Election, was not much displeased with it. That Chancellor in *Paschall's* Time having appeared so moderate in the Affair of the Investitures, that he severely reprehended a certain Monkish Bishop, for his having told that Pope to his Face, *That the having given up the Investitures by an Oath to the Emperor, was an Heresie, and which that Chancellor affirmed it was not.*

But the Family of the *Frangipanes*, who were in the Emperor's Interest, and lived in *Rome*, knew the Man better; and did therefore as soon as they had heard of his being

chose Pope, before he had received the Adorations, drag him out of the Church, in which he was chosen, in a very rude manner, to their own Palace; and where having made him a close Prisoner, they would have kept him so if he had not been violently taken out of their Hands by some *Roman* Barons, followed by a Multitude of People. The Emperor having had Intelligence of this, march'd Day and Night 'till he got to *Rome*, out of which, *Gelasius* not having fled 'till after some *German* Troops were entred the City, he narrowly escaped falling into their Hands. However, after a strange Adventure he got safe to *Gaieto*, the Place of his Birth, where he was consecrated by the Cardinal of *Ostium*, in the Presence of *William* Duke of *Poville*, and of *Richard* Prince of *Capua*, to which *Normans*, that Pope, according to the Custom of his Predecessors, had fled for Protection.

The Emperor having now come to understand what a sort of Man *Gelasius* was, he declared him not to be Bishop of *Rome*, for not having been nominated by him, nor chosen with his Consent. And to fill that See, having declared it vacant, he nominated *Maurice Burdon*, Archbishop of *Braga* to it, who took the Name of *Gregory* the Eighth. And being obliged soon after to return into *Germany* himself, he charged the *Frangipanes*, the Counts of *Tusculum*, and his other *Roman* Friends, to be sure to support *Gregory* against
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his Competitor, who he knew would not suffer him to be long quiet. And it was so, for *Gelasius* did no sooner hear of the Emperor's having left *Rome*, than he laboured hard to perswade the *Normans* to go thither to drive *Gregory* out of it. And when he found that the *Normans* would not, at that time, undertake that Enterprize, trusting to the Strength of the great Party he thought he had in that City, he went to it without them : But he did not stay in it long, for the *Frangipanes* and other Imperialists, having had Intelligence that he was in the Church of *St. Praxidis*, they went and assaulted it so furiously, he had much ado to escape with his Life. And having no great Encouragement to return to the *Normans*, he did, after the Example of his Predecessors, when they were in great Distress in any of their Quarrels with the Emperors, flee into *France*, where he was kindly receiv'd as any declar'd Enemy to the Empire would have been.

Gelasius having died in the Abby of *Clune*, before he had been a Year in *France*, the Archbishop of *Vien*, a *Frenchman*, was in *France*, by the Cardinals in that Kingdom, chosen Bishop of *Rome* ; and who took the Name of *Calistus*.

This new Pope was Brother to the Count of *Burgundy*, and Uncle to the Queen of *France*, and a near Relation of the Emperor's, with whom, soon after his Election, he said, he was resolv'd to put an End to the un-

happy Quarrel of the Investitures. And having to that end dispatched Nuncio's to the Emperor, it was agreed, That they should have an Interview at *Mouzon*, to treat about that Affair. And accordingly, at the Time appointed, the Pope went thither, attended with a great Train of Prelates and Nobles. But when the Emperor was come within a few Leagues of it, the Pope left it, and fled back in great hast to *Rheims*, where he gave out, That the Emperor brought an Army with him, with the Design to have made him a Prisoner; and that by some Nuncio's which he had sent to the Emperor to feel his Pulse, no good was to be expected from that Interview. *Calistus*, when he went to *Mouzon*, had left a Council sitting at *Rheims*; so being return'd to it, he pass'd a Canon, absolutely prohibiting all People to receive the Investitures of their Churches or Ecclesiastical Estates from any Lay Hand.

After this, *Calistus* having understood, that his Adversary *Gregory*, or the *Frangipanes*, by whom he was supported, were by their Tyrannies and Oppressions become very odious in *Rome*, and all *Italy* over; he resolved to go to *Rome* to drive *Gregory* out of it, which he did with much ease. *Gregory*, as soon as he heard of *Calistus's* being near him, left *Rome*, fled to the Castle of *Sutrum*; and which having been taken some time after by the *Normans*, *Gregory* was by them put into the Hands
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of his Adversary *Calistus*, and was by him, or by his Partisans, handled most barbarously.

The One and Twentieth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Victor* and *Alexander*, both whose Elections are by their several Parties said to have been very irregular.

Victor and his Cardinals in his Letters to the Emperor *Frederick*, and to all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, &c. do assure them, that *Victor* had been Canonically chosen Bishop of *Rome* by the Cardinal Bishops and Presbyters, at the Request of the *Roman* Clergy, and with the Consent of the People and Senators. And that twelve Days after *Victor's* Election, *Roland*, who called himself *Alexander*, had been set up by a few who had taken an Oath to *William* King of *Sicily*, to choose any Person he should name to them; calling God to witness, that this their Report of that Election is true, and that all that is reported to the contrary was false, and a manifest Lye. But all this is positively contradicted by *Alexander* and his Adherents; by whom such a different Report is given of that Election, that one does not know which Report to believe: Only *Alexander* and his Friends do not appear to have been Slaves to Truth, in having said, That they had the whole City almost on their Side; for if that had been true, they would not have been chased out of it as they were by *Victor* immediately after they had made their Election.

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The Emperor not knowing which Report to believe, did, after the Example of his Predecessors, call a Council to meet at *Pavia*, to examine the Merits of both Elections; commanding both *Victor* and *Alexander*, by the Bishops of *Prague* and *Verdun*, to be present at that Assembly. *Alexander*, when the Emperor's Letters were delivered to him by those two Bishops, told them gravely, *That the Emperor was indeed the Advocate, and special Defender of the Roman Church, but he wondered that he would offer to affront that Church, or rather St. Peter, so, as to take upon him to be her Judge*: And did then run into that long Cant about the Supream Authority of the *Roman See*, which had been devised by the Monks, and been made to pass current in those Days. The *German Bishops* being much dissatisfied with *Alexander*, and his Canting, left him, and repaired to *Rome*; where Pope *Victor* did promise to be present at the Council which the Emperor had call'd.

Alexander finding that upon his having refused to go to that Council, the Emperor was much displeas'd with him, he did by Legates, make his Court to the King of *France*, and to the Emperor at *Constantinople*, and to all the *Normans* in *Italy*; all which Princes he did hope to find well disposed to become his Friends, purely in Opposition to the Emperor, of whose great Power they were all grown

grown jealous. And he was not out in his Policy, those Princes having, for that reason, been easily perswaded by him to acknowledge him for Pope. And the truth is, it was by the Popes clashing of Princes, and particularly the *French* and *Normans* against the Emperors, that they broke the Neck of the Imperial Power in *Italy*, and did raise their own upon its Ruins.

The Council having met at *Pavia*, and at which Pope *Victor* was present, but no *Alexander* appeared there. The Emperor told them, *That though he might after the example of Constantine, Theodosius, Justinianus, Charles, Otho, and other Emperors, have taken the Decision of this Matter upon himself; yet he had rather choose to leave it to the Judgment of the Ecclesiasticks, and for that end he had assembled them together in that Place.*

The Council having spent seven Days in examining the Merits of both Elections, did pronounce *Victor's* Election to have been Canonical, it having been proved before them by many Witnesses, That *Victor* had been chosen Bishop of *Rome* by the *Roman* Cardinals, at the Request of the Clergy and People of *Rome*, Rowland the Chancellor being present, and not contradicting it; and that *Te Deum* having been sung, and the Name of *Victor* given to that Pope; the Secretary had from a high Place made Proclamation, *That Pope Adrian having died on Monday, the Cardinal*
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Octavianus is now chosen Roman Pontiff in his Place. And the People had with loud Acclamations answered, *They were very well pleased.* And that after that *Victor* having been conducted to the Palace, the customary Reverences and Obedience were there paid to him by the Canons of *St. Peter*, and by all the Clergy of *Rome*. And that there having been a Report some Days after of *Rowland's* being chosen by a few Cardinals, the Magistrates of the City, and divers of *Rowland's* Friends having gone to him, he did deny that there was any such thing; neither did he ever own it, until after he had stole out of the City. Upon these Proofs *Victor's* Election was approved of, and confirmed by the whole Council; which consisted of a great number of Bishops; and *Rowland's* Election was pronounced void. And to which Sentence the King of *England* consented by his Embassadors, who were present in the Council, as the King of *Denmark* did afterwards. And on the second Day after the passing of that Sentence, *Rowland* and all that adher'd to him were by the whole Council pronounced Schismatics, and with lighted Candles Anathematized, and delivered over to Satan,

Alexander being now in a very great Strait, and there being none besides the King of *France* at that time, that was able to support him against the Emperor; he resolved, after Pope *Innocent's* Example, to fly into that
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Kingdom for Sanctuary. And to prepare the *French* to receive him, when he came among them, he sent *Peter* Archbishop of *Tarentasia* before, to gain the Monks, in whom *Peter* had a great Interest; and which, by an Affectation of a singular Humility and Charity, he did much strengthen among the *French* Monks when he came among them, who in a short time had filled *France* with Reports of *Peter's* working of Miracles. In one Monastery, as was confidently given out, he multiplied the Monks Loaves, and in another cured the Blind, and in others cured the Deaf, the Dumb, and the Lame; all which pretended Miracles were looked on as undeniable Testimonies from Heaven, of *Alexander's* being the true *Roman Pontiff*, by whose Legat all those Miracles were wrought. And by these means *Alexander* when he came into *France*, as he did soon after, was received there by the King, and by the whole Nation; with the Affection and Reverence which are due to one, on whose account so many Miracles had been wrought. And the King of *England* being in *France* at that time, he was it is like, so affected with those confident reports of Miracles, that notwithstanding he had given his Consent to the Sentence which had passed on *Alexander*, in the Council of *Pavia*, he did now not only acknowledge him to be Pope, but did outdo all other Princes in the Respects he paid him.

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The Emperor, now the Kings of *England* and *France* had declared themselves for *Alexander*, apprehending that this Schism, if it continued, must cause great Disturbances in Christendom, to prevent those Evils, he was much inclined to have a General Council called, to lay both *Victor* and *Alexander* aside; and to have a third Person chosen to the Satisfaction of all. And having communicated this his Intention to the King of *France*, and desired him to meet him at *Avignon*, and to bring *Alexander* thither with him; as he did promise to bring *Victor*, that King agreed to the Proposition, and did by an Oath ingage himself to meet the Emperor in that City, and to bring *Alexander* thither. *Alexander* having promised to go, the Emperor and the King met accordingly, but no *Alexander* appeared, though *Victor* did; at which Disappointment the Emperor, who was much stronger in that City than the *French* King, was so incensed, that he did as good as threaten the King, for this breach of Faith, to make him a Prisoner, if he did not oblige *Alexander* to come to him. The *French* King told the Emperor, he and his Kingdom should not lye long under the Imputation of being Faithless, for he would oblige *Alexander* to come, and accordingly he did with great Expedition, dispatch Messengers to that false Man, to let him know, that if he did not come presently to *Avignon*, according to the

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Agreement which was betwixt them, he should be made a Prisoner by the Emperor. But that perfidious Pope, having lodged himself in a Monastery, would not budge out of it, for all that could be said to him, and for which his Perfidiousness, the *French King* had been detained a Prisoner by the Emperor; if the King of *England*, who had made a Peace with *France* but a little before, and was grown wonderful fond of his new Pope, had not marched into the Neighbourhood of that City, with a good Army; for which Affection, and great Service, that King was well rewarded by *Alexander*, after he was established by him in the Papacy. The Seditious and Sawcy Prelate *Thomas a Becket*, having been encouraged and supported by him in all his Insolences against that King, and the ancient Constitutions of his Kingdom, and thus Princes by assisting the Bishops of *Rome* to shake off the Yoke of their natural Sovereigns, did before they were aware raise a Power over themselves which ruled them all, for several Ages, with a Rod of Iron; all of them, in their turns, having been trampled on by it.

Victor, having now had the Honour of going to two Places to meet his Antagonist, who had declined to meet him, did call a Synod, in which *Rowland* and his Followers were all a second time Anathematized as Schismatics, but *Victor* having died at *Luca* the Year following

following, *Alexander*, if we may believe him, was so much afflicted at the News of his Death, that for having seen one with signs of Joy in his Face, he reproved him for it, telling him gravely, *that the Death of one who was Damned, was a Matter of deep Sorrow*; giving the World to understand by that malicious piece of Dissimulation, that he did not doubt of *Victor's* Soul being in Hell, for having contended with him so long about the Papacy, and upon his Word, *Baronius* affirms *Victor's* Soul to be in that place of Torment, as positively, as if he had seen it there; and yet *Victor* is said by *Otho Laudensis*, to have been illustrious for the Miracles which he wrought, and whose Authority is altogether as good as theirs is, by whom *Peter of Tarentasia* is said to have wrought Miracles in *Alexander's* Favour.

But tho' *Victor's* Death was a great strengthening to *Alexander*, who lamented it so much, it did not put an end to this Schism, *Victor's* Cardinals having soon after his Death, chosen *Guido Cremenfis* Pope, who took the Name of *Paschal*, and was not only confirmed by the Emperor, but all Christians were exhorted by him to acknowledge him to be the true *Roman Pontiff*; and the Year following the Emperor called a Synod at *Hirbipolis*, against *Alexander*, who being got into *Italy*, and having engaged the *Lombards* and *Venetians* on his Side, was playing his old Pranks

Pranks there. The King of *England* being grown sick of the Pope, he had so lately preserved from Ruin, did send Embassadors to that Council, and in a Letter which went by them to the Bishop of *Cologne*, he told them, *That he had long desired to have a just Occasion of receding from Pope Alexander, and his perfidious Cardinals, by whom the Traytor Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, had been encouraged and supported, in all his Insolencies.* For to do *Becket* Justice, he had the Spirit of *Hildebrand* in him to Perfection; and for which, as he was maintained by the Popes as long as he lived, so to keep that sort of Spirit in Credit, he was Canonized by them after his Death; and, together with bold Pretences of his dead Body working numberless Miracles, all other Arts were used by them for to exalt his Honour, as a true Martyr for the Papacy, and for its ambitious Designs against the Authority of all Princes.

The Emperor having been solicited to come into *Italy* to drive *Alexander* out of it, did in the Year 1167, appear with an Army before *Rome*, and having in a Battel beat the *Romans* soundly, he entred that City, and was with his Empress soon after crowned in it by Pope *Paschal*, who having died three Years after, *John* Abbot of *Struma* was chosen Pope, and who in the seventh Year after his Election, was deposed by a Council in *Venice*; at which the Emperor, by the necessity,

cessity of his Affairs, was obliged to be reconciled to Pope *Alexander*, and to acknowledge him Bishop of *Rome* : The Schism lasted seventeen Years, and cost Christendom many thousands of Lives.

The two and twentieth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *John* the twenty Second, and *Nicholas* : This *John* was by a Trick chose Bishop of *Rome* at *Lions* in *France*, in which Kingdom the Popes had then resided for some Years.

For the Cardinals upon the Death of *Clement* the Seventh being assembled at *Carpen-
tras*, a Town in the Diocess of *Avinion*, to choose a new Pope; by the *Gascoin* Cardinals insisting on having one of their Country chose, and by the *Italians* and *French* having vehemently opposed it, they were so divided, and put into so great Heats, that after they had been shut up three Months in the *Conclave*, they could not agree on any thing, but to break up, and adjourn that Election to another time. And tho' the time was fixed by them before they left that Place, their Spirits were so strangely exasperated one against another, that two Years were past, before they met again. Neither would they have seen one another then, if they had not been brought together by a Stratagem of the Count *de Poitiers* the *French* King's Brother, who having gone to the City of *Lions* on purpose, he sent to every one of the Cardinals

nals privately to come to him there, pretending he had an Affair of great Importance to communicate to them from the King. And all, or most of them, having, before they would venture to go thither, had that Prince's word of Honour, that they should be at their liberty to leave that City when they pleased; they did all go to wait upon him, without knowing any thing of any other Cardinals being there. And a Conclave having been secretly provided for them in a Convent by that Prince, when he had them all in *Lions*, he told them, the Affair he had to communicate to them from the King was, That they should go together and choose a Pope, and when they had done that, they should be at their liberty to go where they pleased. So he shut them all up in the Conclave; and to bring down their proud Stomachs, he allowed them but a very short Diet. But though their short Commons did not please them, at the end of forty Days there was as little hopes of their agreeing, as there was the first Day they were shut up. But when they perceived that until they came to an Election, they would certainly be kept under the Discipline of that short Diet, they compounded the Matter, and did all agree to devolve the Nomination of the Pope upon the single Cardinal of *Porto*, to which the *Gascoins* were induced by having looked on that Cardinal as one of themselves, being a

Native of *Cahors*; and the *Italian* Cardinals had agreed to it, upon his having promised them faithfully in Secret, That if he were Pope, he would forthwith return to *Rome*, and reside there all his Days. That Cardinal having had this great Power committed to him, he did not use the Ceremony of *Nolo Episcopare*, but did modestly name himself Bishop of *Rome*. And being Pope, he so far forgot the solemn Promise he had made the *Italian* Cardinals, that he lived and died in *France*, and never went near *Rome* nor *Italy*.

This false Man had not been long Pope, before the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* was Excommunicated and Deposed by him; and that brave Prince to be revenged on him for his Insolence and Injustice, having marched into *Italy* with an Army, and made himself Master of *Rome*, as I think, all the Princes and Generals that ever attempted it have done; he did with the consent of the Clergy and People of that City, according to the ancient Custom, nominate *Peter Corburius*, a famous *Franciscan* Friar Bishop of *Rome*; and who having taken the Name of *Nicholas*, he soon after crowned the Emperor with great solemnity, and created the Bishop of *Venice*, and divers other great Prelates, Cardinals. But his Pontificate was very short, for having within a Year assembled a Synod in *Pisa*, at which the Emperor was present, and in which he

he Deposed and Excommunicated Pope *John*, and all that adher'd to him. He was, upon the Emperor's having left him in that City, made a close Prisoner by the *Pisans*, though they had all a little before consented to all that was done in that Synod, and had set their hands to it. This Pope, and the Emperor by whom he was Nominated, besides most of the *German* and *Italian* Ecclesiasticks, had on their side a great part of the *Franciscan* Order, namely, their General *Michael Cæsenes*, and *Occham*, who was esteemed the most learned Friar of his Age; in which it is true, Learning did run very low in the *West*, and who to encourage the Emperor, said to him, *Sir, if you will defend me against Pope John's Violence with your Sword, I will defend your Title against him with my Pen.* But Pope *Nicholas* notwithstanding he had so many great Friends, having by the *Pisans* been delivered into his Adversary Pope *John's* Hands, he, though the poor old Man appeared to be very Penitent, did treat him as if he had been a Dog; for he was brought into his presence with a Rope about his Neck, and after he had obliged him to make a most humble Submission and Confession of his Fault, he kept him in close durance all his Days; as Pope *Alexander* not long before had kept his Predecessor Pope *Celestine*, after he had either by Fraud or Terrors, or by both, brought him

him to resign the *Roman See*, that he might leap into it himself.

Wadingus the *Franciscan* Annalist, will have *Nicholas*, after the Emperor had left him in *Luca*, to have been so much troubled in Conscience for what he had done, that he resolved to lay down his Claim to the Papacy; and did write to Pope *John* to acquaint him with that his Intention: And that having received some Promises from that Pope, *Nicholas* went of his own accord into *France*, and was as long as he lived well entertain'd there. What truth there may be in this Story of *Wadingus's*, which contradicts the former account that was given by the Writers of that Age, deserves not an enquiry: For supposing it to be true, *John's* behaviour towards that Penitent can be the less justified: For *Wadingus* acknowledgeth, that *Nicholas* was brought into *John's* presence with a Rope about his Neck, which in all likelihood was not his own Desire; neither is it likely that it was an Article in the Treaty that was betwixt them, that he should be kept a close Prisoner all his Days, as *Wadingus* acknowledgeth he was. But so that the World will but think well of *Nicholas*, who was a *Franciscan* Friar, and who is by *Wadingus*, who was a *Franciscan* too, represented as an extraordinary Saint, tho' by others who lived near his time, he is said to have been one of the worst of Men. *Wadingus* will give them
leave

leave to think as ill of Pope *John* as they please, who was so great a Persecutor of that Order, that I am mistaken if it was not once in his Thoughts to have dissolved it

The Three and Twentieth Schism in the *Roman See*, lasted at least forty Years, and gave all *Europe* great Disturbances.

The Papal See, after having been seventy Years in *Avinion* in *France*, was, in the Year 1377, brought back to *Rome* by *Gregory* the Eleventh, and who having died there two Years after, the *Romans* fearing if a *Frenchman* was chosen Pope, that he would carry back that *See* to *Avinion* again, they did all rise as one Man, and having invested the Conclave, did threaten to cut the Cardinals in pieces, if they did not choose a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*. The *French* Cardinals being much terrified with these Threatnings, gave their Voices for *Bartholomew* Archbishop of *Barr*, who tho' by Birth he was an *Italian*, had lived the greatest part of his time in *France*; and who being thus elected, took the Name of *Urban*.

After the Election was over, and the City quiet, the *French* Cardinals, and with them some *Italians*, withdrew themselves from *Rome*, and being got to *Fundi*, a place of Safety and Liberty, they did write to *Urban*, and charg'd him by all that was Sacred, not to look upon himself as Bishop of *Rome*, which he knew

he was not, his Election being void by the force that was used in it. *Urban*, though he knew that as well as they could tell it him, yet having fate in the *Roman See*, and having the whole City on his side, he would not, upon the nicety of a Nullity in his Election, relinquish it. The *French* Cardinals having understood so much by him, they proceeded to a New Election, and chose *Robert*, Brother to the Count *Savennis*, and Cardinal Presbyter of the twelve Apostles, who took the Name of *Clement*.

Urban, when he heard of the Election at *Fundi*, went briskly to work with the Cardinals that had made it; and by a Papal definitive Sentence, declared them all to be Schismatics and Traytors, Excommunicating them, and all that adher'd to them. And having but a very thin College left, he strengthened himself much by creating Twenty-nine *Italian* Ecclesiasticks of Figure, Cardinals in one Day. After having done that, he dispatch'd his Letters to all the Kings and Princes in *Europe*, to acquaint them with his Election, and with the Schism the *French* Cardinals were about to raise in the Church. Neither was *Clement* idle all this while; for he thundered out his Excommunications against *Urban* and all his Adherents. And writ Letters to all Kings and Princes to bespeak their Obedience. And having got together a good body of *French* and other Troops, he took

took possession of a great part of *St. Peter's* Patrimony, and did very much straiten the City of *Rome*.

The Princes, to whom the two Popes had written, consulted with their Interests to be directed by them, to which of the Two they should adhere. So *France* declared it self presently for *Clement*, and so did *Scotland*, *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Sicily*, *England*, which in those Days understood its own Interest so well, as not to do a thing that would visibly advance the power of *France*, declared presently for *Urban*, and besides *Rome*, and a part of *Italy*, it was the only Country I can find that declared for him at first. But to supply that want, *Urban* had two Women on his side, who were worth perhaps two Kingdoms to him; they were *St. Bridget*, who at that time lived in *Rome*, and *St. Catharine* of *Sienna*. As to *Bridget*, she having been asked, Whether *Urban* had been duly elected Pope or not? Did, with an Oath affirm, *That he had been chosen Voluntarily and Freely by the Cardinals, who were under no manner of force, nor fear, when they chose him.* What *Bridget* might have revealed to her, no body but her self can tell; but in Fact the contrary to what she Affirmed and Swore was manifest to the whole City of *Rome*. So that if all *Bridget's* Revelations, and which are said to be numberless, were like this, it is not hard to tell, from whom she must have had

had them. And *Catharine of Sienna*, who was likewise famous at that Time for her Revelations, did in a Letter, which she writ to the Emperor in *Urban's* Favour, assure him, though it is not said she swore it, as *Bridget* did, That *Urban* had not been chosen Pope by the Cardinals out of fear, but voluntarily.

Now pretended Revelations were too much regarded in this Age, for *Clement* not to use that Weapon too; so *Vincent Ferrier*, an *Aragonese Dominican* Friar, famous both for Revelations, and for working of Miracles, positively affirm'd, the true Title to the *Roman See* to be in *Clement*. So that if no other means but confident Reports of Revelations and Miracles, had ever been used to have put an end to this Schism, it must have lasted till Dooms-Day. For as *Mezeray* a Papist observes, all the Popes had those Testimonies of their several Titles being good.

But whoever had the Advantage of this Weapon, at the Sword *Urban* had the better of it, by whom *Clement* was constrained to leave *Italy*, and to go into *France*, to try what he could make of his Title there, and where it was kept up by him and his Successor above thirty Years.

Now *Clement* had left *Italy*, the Prince of all others that disquieted *Urban* the most, because she was in his Neighbourhood, was *Joan Queen of Naples*, a zealous *Clementine*.
To

To take this Thorn out of his Side, *Urban* applied himself warmly to *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, offering to bestow the Crown of *Naples* on his Kinsman *Charles de Duras*, if he would send him into *Italy* with an Army to take Possession of it. This *Charles* was in Blood nearly related to that Queen, and educated by her with great Tenderness; and she having no Children, had married him to her Niece, with an Intention to have made him her Heir. So that no Prince could possibly be under greater Obligations of Gratitude to another, than *Charles* was under to that Queen. But though nothing else can spy them, Ambition sees such Charms in Crowns, that it commonly breaks through all Bonds to come at them. It did so with *Charles*, at least, who having been furnished with a good Army by the King of *Hungary*, marched first to *Rome*, where he received the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* from *Urban*: And having thus got a Title to that Kingdom, he march'd immediately to take Possession of it. The City of *Naples* was surrender'd to him as soon as he came before it; and the *Castle del Ovo*, to which the Queen had retreated, was soon reduc'd. The Queen having fallen into *Charles's* Hands, was made a close Prisoner; and in the End was strangled by him in Prison. Few doubted of *Urban's* having consented to, if he did not order that execrable Murder of a Sovereign Prince,

Prince, and from *Urban's* not having mentioned this, as any Crime in *Charles*, when upon a Quarrel betwixt them he charged him with all the ill Things he had done; it seems to be pretty plain, that *Urban* himself had a Hand in that Murder.

The Clergy of *Naples* having with their Queen, still adhered stiffly to *Clement*, were by *Charles* imprisoned, deposed, and very barbarously used; so that to supply the Vacancies which *Charles* had made in the Episcopal Sees in *Naples*, no fewer than two and thirty Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, were named by *Urban*, in one Day, for that Kingdom; who to strengthen himself after his own Election, did in one Day create nine and twenty Cardinals.

Clement, being sensible how much *Urban* had fortify'd himself by this great and sudden Revolution in *Naples*, did set himself to undo it, if it were possible, and to that end, he bestowed the Crowns of *Naples* and *Jerusalem* on the Duke of *Anjou*; and having crown'd him at *Avignon*, he drive him into *Italy*. That Prince passed the *Alps* with an Army of thirty thousand Men, the greatest that ever passed them before out of *France*, and being come into *Savoy*, the Earl of that Country came to him with fifteen hundred Lances; and the great Detestation the *Italians* had conceived against *Charles*, brought great Numbers in to him, in all the Places thro' which he marched,

marched. *Urban* was such a Composition of Pride, Cruelty, Falshood and Avarice, that as desirous as the *Romans* were to have the Papal See among them, they chose to be without it, rather than have it with such a Pope. And it was the same with *France* and *Clement*; for tho' it was certainly of it self, a great Advantage to that Kingdom to have the Papal See in it; yet such were *Clement's* and his Successors Practices, that it had been happy for *France* to have been without it, during the Time of this long Schism: For in one Thing the contending Popes were all a like, which was, that none of them stuck at any thing, that they thought would strengthen their Pretences.

So the People of *Rome*, not being able to endure *Urban's* Tyrannies any longer, did rise to have drive him out of the City; but though for that Time, that great Tumult was appeased by the soft Words *Urban* gave the People, yet his Life having been in great Danger in it, he left *Rome* soon after; and went to *Ferentum*, from whence he sent his Monitory Letters to *Charles*, his new King of *Naples*, with whom he had quarrel'd already, upon that King's having deny'd to make *Urban's* Nephew, as he had promised, Prince of *Capua*: And in which Letters, *Urban* gave *Charles* plainly to understand, that he would depose him for that Breach of Faith, if he did not keep his Word with him. It

appeared afterwards, that *Urban* at that time was in a secret Treaty with the King of *Aragon*, to help his Nephew to that Principality: These Monitory Letters were much slighted by *Charles*, who was so to Pieces with *Urban*, that nothing could have brought them together again but their common Safety, which was so visibly threatned by the Duke of *Anjou*. By that necessity *Urban*, after he had used *Charles* so coarsly, having been constrained to put himself into his Hands, he went to *Aversa*, a City not far from *Naples*, where *Charles* having met him, he did answer his first Expectation, by paying him all the humble Adorations which the Popes of late Years have looked for from Princes. The first Night they supped together very friendly, but *Charles* having sent some of his Officers next Day, to invite *Urban* up to the Castle, he did not only refuse to go, but he denounced an Anathema against all that should offer to carry him thither by force. But that would not do, for to the Castle he was carried, and being in it was confined until he had granted a Relaxation to *Charles*, from all the hard Conditions he had clog'd his Investiture withal: When that was done they went as Friends together to *Naples*, where *Urban* intended to have lodged in the Archiepiscopal Palace: But *Charles* looking on the Castle as a more proper Place for him, he lodged him in it, much against his Will; and
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it having been now discovered that *Urban*, to have gained the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and to have got the Principality of *Capua* for his Nephew, had offered the Kingdom of *Sicily* to the King of *Arragon's* Daughter, who should be married to the King of *Castile*; *Urban* was upon that made a close Prisoner in the Castle for sixteen Days; during which time *Charles* obtained of him all the Securities that he judged to be necessary. After that *Urban* was not only set at liberty, but was conducted in State to the Archbishoppal Palace, where *Charles* and he appeared to be as good Friends as if there had never been any Difference betwixt them; for they were both *Italians*, and knew well how to dissemble.

Urban being thus in an *Italian* Friendship with *Charles*, he called on him incessantly to go out and fight the Duke of *Anjou*, and to encourage and strengthen him to do it, he excommunicated that Duke by Name, as a Schismatick and Heretick; and having declared that to be an holy War, he gave Indulgences of all their Sins, to all that would go in Person against that Duke, or that would give Money to carry on a War against him; but so little did *Charles* trust to his Wars being holy, and his Troops being all armed with Plenary Papal Indulgences, that when he had taken the Field, he avoided coming to a Battle with the *French* all that he could; and did,

did, by amusing the Duke of *Anjou*, for some time, with a Challenge to fight him in Person, and by other Arts of Conduct, reduce that Duke and his Army to such Straits, that they had neither Victuals, Cloaths nor Forage, and the Plague having come among them, it made such a Havock in his Army, that few of the *French* did ever return home, and if any did, it was in no Body, but only as Straglers. The Duke of *Anjou* himself died likewise, not of the Plague, but of mere Discontent and Vexation; and pity it was that he had not taken *Clement*, by whom he was sent on that Errand, along with him. Neither did the *Neapolitan* Army, though its Sins were all forgiven, escape the Pestilence, which swept away the greatest Part of them, *Charles* himself having narrowly escaped dying of it; and if he had, now the *French* Army was totally destroyed, *Urban* would not have been much troubled at it; who was so little fond of seeing *Charles* any more, that before he returned to *Naples*, *Urban* had slipt out of that City, and thrown himself into *Nuceria*, a strong Town belonging to the Church, not far from the *Appenines*. *Charles*, though he was troubled to find *Urban* play fast and loose with him thus, did nevertheless write to him, to know the Reason why he had left *Naples* so, and to invite him to return. With which Civility, *Urban* was so far from being pleased, that he com-
manded

manded *Charles's* Messenger to tell his Master, that it was the Custom of all Kings and Princes, when they had any Business with the Bishop of *Rome*, to go and wait upon him, and not to send for that Bishop to come to them: And to tell him farther, that he must not oppress and tyrannize over his Subjects as he had done, and must send the Tribute to him which is due from the Kingdom of *Naples* to the *Roman See*, and must not go into *Hungary* to disturb *Maximilian's* Election there: Of all which Commands, *Charles* made so little Account; that he declared the Crown of *Naples* had come to him by Inheritance, and not by *Urban's* Donation, and that he was resolved to go to *Hungary*, and get that Crown for himself if he could. We are not told how this rude Breach was so soon patched up betwixt *Charles* and *Urban*, unless it was their common Safety that brought them together again; for not long after this we do find *Urban* in *Naples*, where to make himself Friends in *Germany*, now that he had so few left in *Italy*, in one Day, he created the three Electors of *Mentz*, *Triers* and *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Liege* Cardinals; by which, and some other little Arts, the weak Emperor *Wenceslaus* was so much obliged, that he declared himself zealously for *Urban*, though he never did him, nor nobody else, no not himself, any Service.

But whatever was the Cause of it, *Charles* and *Urban* could never hold long together ; and so *Urban* having fancied, that the Cardinals that were about him were enter'd into a Conspiracy to take away his Life ; and that the Cardinal who was *Charles's* first Minister, was the chief Man in that Plot. He stole away from *Naples*, and returned to *Nuceria*, to which Place six of the Cardinals that he suspected having had so little Wit as to follow him, he had them all six arrested there, and having put some of them to the Question, they did confess, that there had been such a Conspiracy. *Urban*, who was resolved to have the Lives of those six Cardinals, not judging it to be safe to execute them in *Nuceria*, which was in *Charles's* Neighbourhood, and whose first Minister was the chief Person in that Plot ; he left that Place, and went to *Genoa*, and having taken his six Prisoners along with him, he put five of them to Death there : the sixth, who was an Englishman, had his Life given him at the Intercession of the King of *England*, who was *Urban's* best Friend : and against which Cardinal, nothing more had been proved, but that he once said, that *Urban* was a Man of great Pride ; and to gratify the King of *England* farther, *Urban* whilst he was in *Genoa*, did proclaim the Duke of *Lancaster's* War with the King of *Castile*, to be an holy War, and strengthened it with all the customary Indulgences.

Whilst

Whilst *Urban* was at *Nuceria*, a certain famous *French* Hermit came to him, with a fresh Revelation from Heaven, but it was in *Clement's* Favour; he told *Urban* that he would speedily pull down terrible Judgments upon his own Head if he did not give over all Pretensions to the Papacy, to which he had no right. But *Urban*, not being so forward to believe this *French* Hermit's Revelation, as he was *Briget's*, he asked him, how he knew that Revelation to be true, and not a fantastical Elusion; and the Hermit having given him no satisfactory Answer, he ordered him to be thrown into Goal; and having given him there a sound Torture upon the Wrack, the *French* Hermit confessed the whole Cheat; for which *Urban* had resolved to have burnt the Hermit alive, if he had not been hinder'd by some of his Councillors, who told him it would be the greatest Disservice he could do his Cause, that Hermit, being to their Knowledge, looked on all over *France*, as a great Saint.

Urban remained about a Year in *Genoa*, and would probably have stayed there longer, if the *Doeg* of that Republick had not begun to talk to him earnestly, to put an End to the present great Schism, by promising to make a Cession, if *Clement* would promise to do it; for as he did not love to hear that Discourse, so being under some Apprehensions, that if he stayed longer in *Genoa*,

he might be detained there, and be forced to make a Cession, he left that City; but before he went, to satisfy the *Genoefes*, who are sharp Merchants; for a great Debt he had contracted among them, he mortgaged to them several Towns, which belonged to the Papacy. From *Genoa Urban* went to *Luca*, and to divers other Places, and being at last invited by the *Romans* to return Home, he went to *Rome*, where he died soon after, in the Twelfth Year after his Election; most of which time, he had been kept on his Legs, not by his Friends, for they were few, and the best of them at a great distance from him; but by his Enemies having had their Hands so full of other Business, that they were not at Leisure to pull him down.

Urban and his Successors, and not *Clement* and his, are nevertheless by all the *Roman* Writers, since the End of that Schism, reckoned to have been the true Bishops of *Rome*; and do accordingly take their Places in all the Catalogues of the Popes, though I can see no Reason for it, considering how plain a Nullity there was in *Urban's* Election.

A Popish Writer speaking of this Schism, saith, it was the worst, and most subtile that was ever in the *Roman See*, and was so perplexed, that the most learned, and most conscientious Men, could not decide to whom they were rather to adhere; it was continu-

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ed for forty Years with great Scandal, &c. Wherefore from this *Urban* the Sixth, to *Martin* the Seventh, I know not who was Pope; and *Mezeray* a Papish speaking of it, saith, this Schism lasted forty Years, either Party having great Persons, Saints, Miracles and Revelations, as they said, and even such strong Arguments and Reasons on his Side, that the Dispute could never be decided, but by way of Cession: That is by obliging the Two, he should have said the Three, to abdicate the Papacy; so that it is great Boldness to call those Antipopes, who during this Schism held that See at *Avignon*. And if this be a great Boldness, what is it notwithstanding this, and twenty more visible Breaches in the Papal Succession, to affirm that Succession to be whole and entire.

Urban being dead, the Cardinals in *Rome*, who were but Fourteen in Number, chose the Cardinal of *St. Anastasius*, who took the Name of *Boniface*, and to make himself popular at first, he did soon after his Election write to all Kings and Princes, and to *Clement* himself, offering to abdicate the Papacy, if *Clement* would do it too, that an end might be put to the present great Schism which disturbed *Europe* so much. This was a Thing, *Boniface*, tho' he had never intended it, might very safely venture to offer, being pretty sure, that *Clement*, who was so much stronger than he, at that time,

and who, I think, had the better Title too, would never agree to it ; and which he was so far from, that the Friar, who had the Courage to bring that Proposition to him from *Boniface*, was thrown by him into a Goal, where he might have lain long enough, if all *France* had not roared against *Clement's* appearing so averse to the putting an end to that Schism at his own Cost. This obliged *Clement* to set that Friar at Liberty ; and afterwards on all Occasions to express a wonderful Zeal to have an End put to the Schism ; but without saying a Word of his being ready to abdicate, to bring it about.

But though it was not safe for any Person to speak to *Clement* about abdicating, the University of *Paris*, which made a great Figure in the World in those Days, and which from the beginning of the Schism had always been for putting an End to it by the Cession of both Parties, had the Courage to send him a very bold Remonstrance concerning that Matter ; and *Clement* having by his Cardinals been obliged to hear it read, he was as one Thunder-struck, being thrown by it into Agonies that carried him off presently.

The University of *Paris* by their Remonstrance, having thus dispatched *Clement* into the next World, was for making the most of his Death ; and to that End they got the King to write Letters to *Avignon*, to let the Car-

Cardinals know, that he would not have them proceed to the Election of a new Pope. The Cardinals thinking it would be so, had made the more haste into the Conclave. And though the King's Letters came to their Hands, before the Election, knowing what they imported, they did not open them until after they had chosen the Cardinal *Peter de Luna*, an *Arragonefe*, a Man of great Wealth, Courage, and Dexterity; but who was as false as Nature and the Papal Court could make him. He took the Name of *Benedict*; and in *Clement's* Time had at *Paris*, and in other Places publickly maintained, That an End could not be put to the present Schism by any way but by a Cession of both Parties; and had often declared, That were he Pope he would never rest till he had brought it about. And as nothing besides his Money had promoted his Election, being a *Spaniard*, so much as that Profession; so since an Election had been precipitated, the King and the University of *Paris* were well pleased that it had fallen on one that was so well disposed. Besides, he and all the rest of the Cardinals, as soon as they had enter'd the Conclave, did take an Oath solemnly at the Altar, if they were chosen Pope to make a Cession whenever it should be judged by the Cardinals to be convenient.

Whilst these Professions and Oaths were fresh in *Benedict's* Conscience, and before he

could well have felt the Charms that are in the Papal See. The *French* King called an Assembly of his Bishops, and having concluded, that an End could not be put to the present Schism by any other way but by the Cession of both Parties; the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Berry*, and *Burgundy*, were sent by the King to *Avignon*, to settle that Matter with *Benedict*; and with them went some Deputies from the University of *Paris*.

So many Princes going on this Errand, looks as if the Court of *France* did apprehend there might be some Difficulty in it, notwithstanding *Benedict's* late Oath, and former Professions. But whatever they thought, they found it so; for they no sooner began to speak to him about a Cession, than they saw plainly that his late Oath, and former Professions seemed to be forgot by him. At first he told them, That the true Title to the *Roman See* being certainly in him, he was not satisfy'd that he could abdicate it with a good Conscience. For as such an Abdication would create a very bad President; so for the Pilot of *St. Peter's Boat* to forsake her in so great a Storm, he said, he was afraid would be a very great Sin in him. He told them afterwards he was of Opinion, That a better way might be found for the remedying of the present Schism, than by the Cession of both Parties, and did propose several of those ways

ways to them. And at last he told them, That he was resolved to go to *Rome* himself, there to confer with *Boniface* about it; and that he did not doubt of being able to convince him of his having no Title to the *Roman See*, that he would relinquish it presently. And accordingly he named Commissaries to go into *Italy*, to obtain a safe Conduct for him from the Count of *Fundi*; and others to go to *Rome* to have an Interview with *Boniface*. But the truth is, *Benedict's* perceiving that he should never be quiet in *France*, and the less for not being of that Nation; it was in his Thoughts from the beginning, to leave that Kingdom, and to go and reside in some City in *Italy*, on whose Strength and Fidelity he might depend. So that his sending Commissaries thither for a safe Conduct and Interview, was projected by him for no other end, but only to be a blind to the Negotiating of that other great Affair with a convenient Secrecy.

The *French* Princes being very angry at being thus disappointed in a Business, in which they had promised themselves good Success; and from that Success, great Praise, *Benedict*, according to the Custom of all the contending Popes, did endeavour to sweeten them at the Cost of the Clergy, giving them a new Grant of the Tenth, that which they had from *Clement* having expired with his Breath,

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The Emperor likewise writ to *Benedict* to Abdicate, since *Boniface*, to whom he adhered was ready to do it. But as it was not at all likely that *Benedict* should do a thing at the instance of a remote Prince, and who did not acknowledge him, which he had deny'd to the *French*, among whom he lived. So that Emperor had no great reason to be so confident of his Popes being so ready to Abdicate. For though it is true he still appeared Zealous to have both Parties make a Cession, and the more so, for being pretty sure that *Benedict* would never consent to it; yet at the same time, he did all that he was able to strengthen himself so, that he might not be constrained to do so odious an Act. And to that end, he did set his whole Strength to drive the Duke of *Anjou* out of *Naples*, and to restore *Ladislaus*, whose Father *Charles* having been chosen King of *Hungary*, was murder'd there by one of the Palatines of that Kingdom; and which was a just Judgment upon him for the murder of the Queen of *Naples*. And to scrape Money together, to support him in the Papacy, he set forth an Edict, declaring all Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, that within a Year after their Promotion, did not exhibit their Letter of Assumption to have no Right to their Dignities. After this Edict most of the Ecclesiasticks who were promoted to any considerable Preferment, by either of the Popes, or
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by the Princes that adhered to them, to secure their Titles, had them secretly confirmed both at *Rome* and at *Avignon*, for which Confirmations great Fees were paid.

Soon after *Benedict* was elected, the *French* King had written to the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, to join with him to oblige *Benedict*, according to his late Oath and Professions, to Abdicate the Papacy. Those Kings did both return the same Answer, which was, That they could come to no Resolution about that Matter, before they had advised with their Clergy. But having been afterwards informed by *Benedict*, that the *French* were very hard upon him, and for no other reason but because he was a *Spaniard*. They both writ to the *French* King, desiring him to shew the same Respects due to *Benedict*, he shewed to *Clement*, who had both one and the same Title; adding, that if he did not, a proper place would be provided for the Throne of the Apostolical See, in one of their Countries.

This set the *French* more against *Benedict* than they were before, and all the Cardinals, except one, being for his Abdicating. The King resolved to make him observe his Oath; and to that end, he invited the Emperor, the Kings of *England* and of *Navarre*, and of divers other Princes to an Interview: And *Rheims* having been agreed on for the Place, the Emperor did meet the *French* King there;
and

and the King of *England* and *Navarre* sent their Embassadors. Divers other Princes were there in Person; but the Duke of *Burgundy* refused to come, saying, *He knew it would be to no purpose.* There were also Deputies from the University of *Paris*. It was unanimously agreed at this Interview, that both *Benedict* and *Boniface* should Abdicate the Papacy, and that a Third Person should be chosen, who should be acknowledged by them all to be the true Bishop of *Rome*.

Soon after this Assembly of *Rheims*, a Diet of the Empire met at *Frankfort*, to which Deputies were sent by the University of *Paris*, the indefatigable Prosecutor of all the contending Popes. In that Diet it was resolved, That all Princes should be desired to oblige the Pope to whom they adhered, to make a Cession; and accordingly some Princes were sent to *Rome* by that Diet; and with whom went the Embassadors of *England* to take *Boniface's* Abdication; the *French* King having promised to substract his Obedience from *Benedict*, if he did not Abdicate too. But the *English* and *Germans* when they came to *Rome* did not find their Pope so forward to Abdicate, as his repeated offers to do it, had made them believe he was; for he did not only refuse to make a Cession, but he was very angry with the *Germans*, for having presumed to trouble him with such an Application,

plication, without having the Emperor's Consent. It is true, the Emperor not having been at the Diet, had not consented to it, he and the Princes of the Empire being all to pieces at that time, and by whom he was not long after Deposed. However, *Boniface* knew very well, that at *Rheims* the Emperor had consented to his being required to Abdicate; so that nothing but *Boniface's* being resolved not to make a Cession, could have prompted him to have made that Exception.

This juggling of all the contending Popes, and that Epidemical Corruption which it had caused, offended devout People so, that out of such, rise something like a *Croisado*, to put a stop to it. It is said by some to have begun in *Scotland*, and to have passed through *Germany* into *Italy*, where People of all Degrees flock'd to it so, that at *Viterbum* they were thirty thousand together in one Body. They were all in White, as Penitents, and for that reason were called the *Albati*; they walk'd with their Faces covered, and were, all the way they went, either calling on People to Repentance and Amendment in Life, or Praying, or Singing Psalms, and Litanies, and such a wonderful Reformation of Manners was wrought in all the places through which they pass'd, that it was look'd on by many as a great Secret from God. And as it was their intention from the beginning to

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go to *Rome* to preach the Doctrine of Repentance to *Boniface*; so that City, as well as others, being visibly well disposed to receive them with Joy, *Boniface* took care to divert that Visit; having, when he heard it was come as near him as *Viterbum*, sent out some Troops to let them know, that he did not desire their Company; they were easily dispersed by the Papal Troops, for they had no Arms, neither did they offer to make the least Resistance; and the Priest who was their chief Leader and Preacher, having been carried to *Rome*, *Boniface* first gave him the Torture, and an ill Name, and afterwards burnt him alive. For whatever other Princes might do, Popes will not for the sake of the greatest appearances of Piety and Devotion, nor upon the strongest Reports of the Gift of Miracles, pardon any that have frightened or offended them.

Benedict, when he saw nothing but his Abdicating would satisfy the *French*, laid out for a Place of Safety in *Italy*, to retreat to; and looking on *Civita Vecchia*, for its lying upon the Sea, and not being very far from *Rome*, and for being capable of being made Impregnable, as the best Place for him in all that Country; he did resolve, whatever it cost him, to buy it of the Count of *Fundi*. And that this Negotiation might not take Air, for that would have ruined it, the Commissioners that were sent into *Italy* to obtain
from

from that Count, and others a safe Conduct, for *Benedict* to go to *Rome* to confer with *Boniface*, were employed as Agents in it; those Commissaries when they arrived at *Rome*, were kindly received and entertained there, but *Boniface* and they, though they had several Treaties about it, could not settle the Affair of the Interview: And no wonder, since that was never intended by *Benedict*, but was made use of only as a Blind to the buying of *Civita-Vecchia*; which City, after a short secret Treaty, was purchased of the Count of *Fundi*, and he had twelve thousand *Aurei* paid in Hand, upon his having promised to deliver that Castle and Port to *Benedict*, who no sooner heard of that Bargain's being concluded, than he sent a good Officer with some Soldiers, with all the Secrecy that was possible, to take Possession of that Place, and to make it as strong as it was capable of being made, against he came to it. But when that Officer arrived at *Civita-Vecchia*, the Count of *Fundi* would not deliver the Place to him, pretending that by his Bargain he was to put it into the Hands of *Benedict* when he came to it, and not to deliver it to any body else, though sent by him.

Benedict, having been thus defeated, as to *Italy*, did cast his Eye on his Native Country, and to create to himself a strong Interest in it, he bestowed the Kingdom of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, on the King of *Arragon*, and his
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Heirs for ever. This great Donation was made to that King in Person in *Avignon*, to which City that King was invited by *Benedict*, and was splendidly entertained by him in it. The Place to which he intended to retreat, when he found *France* too hot for him, being fixed; that he might have some Cardinals to follow him thither, or where-ever he should go, and which he knew the *French* Cardinals would never do; he created seven new Cardinals, and who were, I think, all but one of the *Spanish* Nation.

This new Creation of Cardinals, being a plain Sign that nothing was farther from *Benedict's* Thoughts, than the Abdicating of the Papacy, the *French* resented it accordingly, neither were they well pleased with his bringing Foreign Kings into the Heart of their Country, to bestow Crowns upon them there.

The first that broke the Ice was *Benedict's* great Aversion to the University of *Paris*; who sent him word, that if he did not presently, according to his Oath, abdicate the Papacy, they would substract their Obedience from him: he had the same Message sent him from all, or most of the *French* Cardinals, and last of all from the King himself. He returned the same Answer to them all, which was, *That being fully satisfy'd in his own Conscience that he was the true Bishop of Rome, he was to dye so.*

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Upon this plain Dealing, *France* Subtract-
ed her Obedience from him, Prohibiting all
People under severe Penalties to look on him,
or call him any longer Pope or Bishop of
Rome, and the King fearing *Benedict* might
fly into *Arragon* upon this, he ordered some
Troops to march forthwith to *Avignon* to
seize upon him; *Benedict* when he heard of
those Troops marching toward him, had shut
himself, and all the *Arragoneses* he had about
him, up in the Castle of that City, with an
Intention to have held it out to the last Ex-
tremity. But his Strength not being answer-
able to his Courage, he was soon compelled
to surrender upon Discretion, and being made
a Prisoner, he was committed to the keeping
of the Magistrates of that City, who did un-
dertake to watch him so narrowly that he
should not make his Escape.

Benedict being thus laid aside, the *French*
King sent *Peter de Aliaco*, Bishop of *Cambrai*,
the most Learned Man in his Kingdom, and
the most Active to extinguish the Schism, to
speak to *Boniface* to make the Cession, which
he had so often offered to make; but *Boni-*
face, as if he had forgot that he ever made
any such offer, told that Bishop, that if
the *French*, and other Princes did but dis-
own *Peter de Luna*, the Schism would be at
an end, and there would be no need of ma-
king any Cessions.

Aliaco needed not have taken a long Journey to *Rome*, only to have had that Information, and I am very apt to think, that there was not any one thing that disposed *France* more to return to *Benedict's* Obedience again, than this Answer of *Boniface's*, who appeared by it, to be one of the falsest of Men.

When the King of *Arragon* heard of his Friend *Benedict* being laid aside, and kept a close Prisoner in *Avignon*, he sent Embassadors to comfort him, and to advise him to refer his whole Cause to the Arbitrement of the Princes that had adhered to him. *Benedict* at first was very stiff, and would not hear of doing it; but having been afterwards convinced that in his present bad Circumstances, it was the wisest Course he could take; he consented to it, and did put his whole Cause entirely into the Hands of the King of *France*, and of the King of *Arragon*; and in case the *French* King died before any Sentence was passed, as it was likely he would, being at that time in a very languishing Condition; the Duke of *Orleance*, who was the best Friend *Benedict* had in the World, should take his Place.

But unhappily for *Benedict*, the *French* King lived to agree with the King of *Arragon*, that the following Particulars should be required of him. *First*, That he should abdicate the Papacy, whenever it was abdicated by

by *Boniface*. Secondly, That he should never do any thing to retard the Union of the Church. Thirdly, That if a Council were called to extinguish the Schism he should go to it, and consent to all they required. Fourthly, That he should not leave *Avignon* without the *French King's* Consent. And that having promised all this upon Oath, he should live in the Palace of that City, and have an hundred Persons to wait on him, and who should all take an Oath, not to advise him to violate any of those Articles, nor to consent to any of them being Violated.

When this Sentence was brought to *Avignon*, *Benedict*, though a Prisoner, complained grievously of the barbarous usage he had met with, and of Secular Princes breaking through all Ecclesiastical Laws and Sanctions, to impose hard and unjust things upon him. And at last he declared, *That he would sooner dye than leave such a scandalous Stain upon his own old Age, and on the Honour of the Apostolical See*; as his submitting to that Sentence must necessarily throw upon them. Neither would he ever have submitted to it, if it had not been in order to the breaking of it, by making his escape out of *France*. Believing, that after he had tyed himself with an Oath in *Avignon*, he would not be watched so narrowly, but that he might get away; and on this single Consideration, he

gave his Consent to all those Articles, promising with an Oath to observe them all punctually; and so did all that were allowed to be about him, so far as they were concerned. But though *France* did not own *Benedict* by this, to be Pope, it having been expressly said in those Articles, that the Substraction of her Obedience from *Benedict*, should be no ways prejudiced by him, he had still several great Friends in that Kingdom; namely the Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Orleance*, who agreed in nothing else but this. And the Duke of *Anjou* having, by *Boniface's* means, been chased out of *Italy*, he repaired to *Avignon*, and having there paid the Customary Venerations to *Benedict*, upon a Promise to help him, he received from him a new Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, who were both hearty well wishers to *Benedict*, seeing the Administration of the Government of *France*, by reason of the King's Distemper, intirely in the Hands of the Duke of *Orleance*, entertained hopes of being able to fetch that Kingdom back again to *Benedict's* Obedience; and having to that end, sent Embassadors first to *Avignon*, for a fresh Promise from *Benedict* to abdicate the Papacy, when required to do it by a Council; with this new Promise, though it did not amount to so much as he had sworn before those Embassadors

bassadors went to *Paris*, where by the great Power of the Duke of *Orleance*, they easily obtained a Revocation of the Substraction of Obedience; and all *France* was upon certain Conditions, and which were I suppose the same with the forementioned Articles, strictly commanded to look on *Benedict*, and to obey him as the true Bishop of *Rome*. To which great change the University of *Paris* was obliged to submit, much against its will, and so were all the *French* Cardinals and Bishops, the inferior Clergy having in many Places deny'd Obedience to their Prelates, until they had united themselves to *Benedict*, who they said was the true Head of the Church.

Though *Benedict* was undoubtedly overjoyed at the Kingdom of *France*'s having thus returned to his Obedience; yet being kept still under his former Confinement in *Avignon*, he was probably more uneasy under it than he was before; to be kept as a Prisoner by *France*, now she owned him to be Head of the Church, being a greater hardship upon him than it was, whilst she deny'd him not to be so. Not that he was always, after he was confined so, uneasy in *Avignon*, that could he have got away, his Oath would not have kept him there an Hour. To make his Escape being therefore his chief Business, he made it at last, by creeping in the Night-time through a Hole made by the Cardinal of *Prato*, in the Wall of our Lady-
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Church, which joyns to the Palace, and having got to the River, he there met with a Boat, which a Monk by the Cardinal of *Pamplona*'s direction had ready for him ; in which, being attended only by his Physician, and two or three *Spanish* Servants, he arrived safe at the Castle of *Reignold*, a strong Fortrefs four Miles distant from *Avignon*, where he found the Cardinal of *Prato* with a good Body of Soldiers. The Day after he had lodged himself in that Castle, the Duke of *Anjou*, and three Cardinals went to him there. They seemed to be all much concerned at the Indignity of his having left *Avignon* so ; and were very earnest with him to return to that City. Among the Arguments they used to perswade him to it, the chief was, *That by his having thus contrary to his Oath left Avignon, the French, despairing of ever being able to bring him to abdicate the Papacy, would certainly subtract their Obedience from him again.* He was also earnestly pressed to it by some Deputies sent out to him by that City, and by the Country which belongs to it. *Mezeray* saith, That having received great assurances of better Treatment, he went back to *Avignon*, and did reside in it for some time. But in this that ingenious Writer was, I believe, mistaken ; the contrary being affirmed by those who do write more largely concerning these Affairs ; who tell us, That a deaf Ear was turned by *Benedict* to all Arguments

guments and Intreaties; and that instead of going back to *Avignon*, he went farther from it; having after a few Days removed from the Castle of *Reignold*, to the Bridge of *Sorge*, and from thence in a short time to *Carpenteras*, and from thence to the Castle of *Sello*, and at last to *Marseilles*, where he gave out, that he intended to go forthwith into *Italy* to confer with *Boniface*, in order to restore Peace and Unity to the Church. Whilst he was at *Marseilles* he was overtaken by the Learned *John Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, and who, though he was allowed to preach before him several times, and had divers Conferences with him, could gain no ground upon him. His Answer being still, that he did hope by an Interview with *Boniface*, he should be able to put an end to the Schism, to the Satisfaction of the whole Christian World.

However *Benedict* stood affected to that pretended Interview, *Boniface* had his hands too full of Business at this time, to be at leisure to attend it; who having helped *Ladislaus* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, did now labour hard to procure the Crown of *Hungary* for him; upon King *Sigismond* having been taken and imprisoned by his Subjects. And so when *Ladislaus* upon an Invitation from the Rebels, went to *Hungary*, *Boniface* sent a Cardinal Legate along with him, to assist him in his Councils, and to dispose all the

Hungarians to choose him for their King; and *Ladislaus* having succeeded in that Enterprize, he was crown'd King of *Hungary* by that Cardinal, in the City of *Raab*. And that he might bind that King, now he had made him so Great, the faster to him, he did not only forgive him the Tribute that was due to the *Roman See* from the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which amounted to eighty hundred thousand Florins; but did also, to the great prejudice of the Clergy, bestow on him the Tenth in all his Kingdoms for three Years.

This great Revolution cost poor *Hungary* very dear; for *Sigismond* having recovered his Liberty, entered it with a powerful Army, and did after great Slaughters and terrible Devastations of that whole Country, drive *Ladislaus* out of it. All which great Evils were by *Sigismond* laid at the Door of *Boniface* and his Cardinals; and to be revenged on them, he took into his own hands the Presentations to all Ecclesiastical Benefices. Neither was the unfortunate *Ladislaus* better pleased with *Boniface*, for having pushed him into an Enterprize which had ended so ill; and so being returned to *Italy*, he distressed *Boniface* all that he was able, and did oftener than once endeavour to have taken the Government of *Rome* from the *Papal See*. And to gratifie the People of *Rome*, he did soon after *Boniface's* Death, oblige his Successor

to dismantle all the Citadels *Boniface* had built in that City, to have destroyed its Liberties.

Benedict, who was still at *Marseilles*, sent two Bishops and an Abbot to *Rome* to invite *Boniface* to an Interview; and having had a publick Audience granted presently, they acquainted *Boniface*, and the twelve Cardinals that were present with their Business. *Boniface* said, he would consider of it, and let them have his Answer in a few Days. He was as good as his word, for within a Week they were called by him into the Conclave, where he told them roundly, *That since he was undoubtedly the true Bishop of Rome, and Peter de Luna an Anti-Pope, it was below both his own High Dignity, and that of the Apostolical See to have an Interview with a Schismatick, as if there were some doubt of the Legitimacy of his Election. And that Peter de Luna if he did earnestly desire the Unity of the Church, as he pretended, must return into her Bosom as a Penitent, and bring back with him the third part of the Stars which were fallen by his means.*

With this Answer *Benedict's* Deputies were so enraged, that they fell upon *Boniface* most unmercifully, and told him with great Boldness, what Thoughts the World had of him, for his scandalous Falshood and Prevarication. With this freedom *Boniface* was so much disordered, that in a fury he commanded them
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to withdraw, and to leave *Rome* immediately. But they could not, it seems, make so much haste, as to have left that City before *Boniface's* Soul left his Body, who died in great Agonies on the Second Day after he had receiv'd the mortal Wound of being turned inside out. And for which, the Deputies, as having been accessory to *Boniface's* Death, were all three clapt up in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and were glad to pay down a good Sum of Money to the Governor to be set at Liberty.

On this Occasion the whole City was divided into two Parties, the one was against the choosing of a new Pope until the Schism was at an end; the other was for having one chose immediately; and both Parties having taken up Arms, they went to Blows, and had many Skirmishes, in which great Numbers were kill'd on both sides; but the Party that was for having a new Pope chosen, having prevailed in the end, the Cardinals, who were but twelve in Number, proceeded to an Election, and did choose the Cardinal *Cosmo Meliorate*, one of the twelve Electors, who took the Name of *Innocent*. He did with his Eleven Brethren take an Oath, That if he was chosen Pope, he would make a Cession of the Papacy, whenever *Peter de Luna* did the same. And being now Elected, he did before his Coronation take the same Oath.

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Whether *Innocent* when he took those Oaths, and acquainted all Princes with his Assumption, and with his being ready to Abdicate the Papacy if they would oblige *Benedict* to do the same, did ever intend to do that, we cannot certainly tell; but from his whole Conduct afterwards, we are certain, that it was the thing in the World that was the farthest from his Thoughts; and though he writ to *Benedict* and his Cardinals, he only Canted to them in general about restoring Peace and Unity to the Church, but said not a word of his being ready to Abdicate if *Benedict* would do it. And when *Benedict* sent Deputies to him to desire that they might have an Interview, he declined it after *Boniface's* Example, and did give the very same Reason why he could not condescend to it. And to satisfy the World that all that he had Swore and Writ concerning the Abdicating of the Papacy, was mere Grimace, he created Eleven new Cardinals, of whom the Oath the old Cardinals were under was not required, which was, That they should do all that was in their power to oblige *Innocent* to Abdicate, when *Peter de Luna* could be brought to do it.

Innocent, by his thus appearing less inclinable to Abdicate than *Benedict*, did lose ground apace; the *Genoese* and *Pisans* who till now had adher'd stilly to the Pope that was in *Rome*, substracted their Obedience from him ;

him; and Cardinal *Flischi* deserted him likewise, and join'd himself to *Benedict*; who upon this Encouragement went from *Marseilles* to *Nice*, where having been met by the Prince of *Arragon*, and the Duke of *Anjou*, he brought them to agree to a Partition of the Kingdom of *Sicily*; that part of it which is on this side the *Pharus* being given by him to the Duke of *Anjou*, and the other to the Prince of *Arragon*, who did both promise to assist one another to make this Partition good. But the Man of all others *Benedict* depended on the most, was his Countryman *Vincent Ferrier*, a *Dominican* Friar, whom he carried with him from *Nice* to *Genoa*, where he was receiv'd by the whole City with great Expressions of Joy. This Friar's Name was very high for his Preaching, and other miraculous Talents. It was said he had with Sermons converted many Thousands of *Jews* and *Morisco's* in *Spain*; and that when he Preach'd in *Spanish*, he was understood by People of all Nations who did not otherwise understand one word of that Tongue. And as his Name was cried up much by the *Spaniards*, and by all that adher'd to *Benedict*, so he was a pretty loud Trumpeter of his own Praises: For in a Letter which he writ to his General, he tells with a *Gascoin* Air, *That he had been Preaching in Dauphine, Savoy, and in the three famous Valleys among the Alps, and had there Con-*
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verted vast Multitudes of the Waldenses to the Roman Faith. And that among the rest he had Converted a Bishop of that Sect, who resided in the Valley of Luseria.

Note, That this ancient Church among the Alps, which was never Corrupted nor Defiled by Popery, had Bishops in it before the Reformation.

Benedict expected great feats in *Italy* from this Miracle working Preacher, imagining that none that believed the loud Fame of his Miracles, and which the *Roman* Church herself has since believed so far, as to Canonize him for them, could doubt of the Legitimacy of his Election, being zealously preached up, as it was by that Friar; but whether it was, that the *Italians* don't swallow bold Reports of Miracles so easily as the *Spaniards*, or that *Vincent's* Power of working them was confined to his own Country, or only to the Conversion of Infidels and Hereticks, certain it is, the Success of his Preaching in *Italy*, did not answer *Benedict's* Hopes, neither did that Friar's being continually at his Side, hinder him from being driven by the Pestilence out of *Genoa* into *France*.

The *Romans* also were so angry with *Innocent*, for his Prevarication, that they took up Arms, and appointed Seven of their chief Citizens to Rule *Rome* as a Common-Wealth: And *Innocent*, for having violently opposed it, being driven out of the City by them,
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his Palace, as soon as he was out of it, was plundered by the People, who did tear and burn all the Registers, and other Papers belonging to the Papacy that they could lay their Hands on. The Thing that had thrown the People into this great Rage, was *Innocent's* Nephew, whilst there was a Treaty on Foot, about settling the Peace of the City, having drag'd Thirteen of the chief Citizens, among whom were Three of the Seven Governours, into his Palace, where he put them to Death, and afterwards threw their dead Bodies out of a Window into the Streets, in which they lay all Day exposed to the View of the whole City.

Upon *Innocent's* appearing highly displeased with his Nephew for that treacherous Butchery, but chiefly upon their finding *Ladislaus*, who had assisted them to drive away *Innocent*, at work to make himself their Master; *Innocent* was invited to return, and which he did, and thundred out his Excommunications against *Ladislaus* for the Injuries he had done him; but the Preparations the Duke of *Anjou* was making to invade *Italy*, obliged *Innocent* to take off his Excommunications as soon as they were laid on, and to conclude a Peace with *Ladislaus*, though there was nothing of Friendship betwixt them; *Innocent* died soon after, some say of Poyson, others say of old Age.

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The Cardinals knowing, that if they did not choose a Pope presently, they should have strong Applications made to them by most Christian Princes not to do it, they forthwith proceeded to an Election, and chose the Cardinal *Angelus Corrarius*, who took the Name of *Gregory*.

This Crafty *Venetian*, whilst he was a Cardinal, had after *Peter de Luna's* Example, stiffly maintained, that there was no other way to put an end to the Schism, but by obliging both the contending Popes to abdicate; and having both before his Election, and at his Coronation, taken a solemn Oath to do it himself, his Zeal for it did after that, appear to be greater than it was before; for he did not only by Letters acquaint all Christian Princes with his being ready to do it, when he acquainted them with his Assumption, but he also writ the same to *Benedict* and his Cardinals, and did add, that the known Legitimacy of his Election should be so far from hindering him from abdicating the Papacy, to help the Church to Unity and Concord, that he would abdicate the sooner for it, that he might offer the more acceptable Sacrifice to God; and in Discourse he said often, that to put an End to the present pestiferous Schism, he would gladly go to the most distant Place on Foot, and through the greatest Perils. And so well did he act this Farce, that the World, though it was grown weary
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of giving any Credit to such Oaths and Professions, did now begin to hope that the Man was come at last, that would retrieve the lost Honour of the Papacy, and restore Unity to it.

But *Gregory* suffered not the World to lie long under this charitable Mistake, for his Mask having fallen off quickly, he appeared more bare-faced against abdicating the Papacy, than any before him.

For after it had been with great Cost and Trouble, settled betwixt *Benedict* and him, that they should meet at *Saona*, and the Circumstances of that Interview were minutely adjusted, and the Day for it appointed, and on which Day *Benedict* came to the City; *Gregory* did start so many Difficulties one after another against his going to that Place, as he had promised, that it was manifest to all the World, he had never intended it; but had treated about that Interview for no other end but to gain time, and to amuse the World. For instead of going to *Saona*, he went to *Luca*, and threw himself entirely upon *Ladislaus*, who he knew was extreamly against that Interview, and every thing else which might probably end, in the coming to have a single Pope; which he never desired to see, knowing how troublesome a Neighbour such an one would be to him. For the Truth is, the superstitious Conceit of the Necessity of a Papacy, and of its extraordinary

traordinary Sanctity, and divine Power, had not run so low from the time that it was first exalted, as it did in all this Age, both with Princes and People.

Gregory's Cardinals being at him continually to go to *Saona* according to his Promise; to stop their Mouths he did, with a seeming great Seriousness tell them, that he was ready to abdicate the Papacy, without requiring *Benedict* to do it, provided he might enjoy the Dignity of Cardinal, with the Title of Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and might for his Life hold the Bishopricks of *Modena*, and *Corona*, and a Priory which he had before in *Commendam*; and that on one of his Nephews the City and Country of *Faventia*, and on a Second Nephew *Forolivium*, and on the Third *Urbs Vetus*, and *Cornetto*, might be confer'd to be held by them as Fiefs of the *Roman See*.

By this Stratagem, *Gregory* cooled his Cardinal's Zeal for his going to *Saona* to confer with *Benedict*, who they knew would grant him the Terms he had propos'd; but they still continued earnest to have them both make a Cession, that a Third Person might be chosen. And no Man in the College appeared so zealous for that, as the Cardinal *Baltasar Cossa*, who upon substantial Grounds believed he should be the Man, as we shall see hereafter he was, before the End of this Schism. *Gregory* being thus teased by the

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Cardinals, and who, if the *French* should oblige *Benedict* to abdicate, he knew would force him to do the same; he intended to have created four new Cardinals, who he was sure would stick to him; but this new Creation was so violently opposed by all the Cardinals, that *Gregory* was forced to adjourn it; but it was for a short time, for he having soon after got a strong Guard about his Person, he made that Creation: Neither durst the old Cardinals oppose it, any otherwise than by taking an Oath among themselves, that they would never give their Approbation to it. This Combination of the Cardinals was resented so by *Gregory*, that it caused an open Rupture betwixt them, And as when they went to wait upon him, they were insulted by his Guards; so having had certain Intelligence, that if they stayed any longer in *Luca*, they would all be made Prisoners, they stole out of that City, and being got safe to *Pisa*, they published a Protestation, and with it a Letter to all Christian People, exhorting them to substract their Obedience from *Gregory*, who in Contradiction to his Professions and Oaths, was every Day more and more harden'd against abdicating the Papacy. Neither did it fare any better with *Benedict* at this time, for notwithstanding he had, according to his Promise, gone to *Saona*, to confer with *Gregory*; it was nevertheless so manifest, that the Affair of the

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Interview, was on both Sides nothing but a Collusion, that the *French* King did solemnly substract his Obedience from *Benedict* a second time, prohibiting all his Subjects to look on him as Bishop of *Rome* any longer.

Benedict, who was certainly one of the boldest and most resolute Men alive, having had Notice of this before, he did by two Commissaries which he had ready at *Paris*, enter a Protestation against that Substraction, as against an unjust and schismatical Act. But having however been deserted upon it by all or most of his Cardinals, he left *Italy*, and retired to *Arragon*, where he was kindly received; and his Cardinals, when they left him, having gone to *Pisa*, they joyned there with *Gregory's*, and did all agree to hold a Council in that City, to restore the Church to Unity, and to reform her in her Head and Members; and which Council being assembled, there were present at it, Six and Twenty Cardinals, Eleven of which had adher'd to *Benedict*, and Fifteen to *Gregory*, Three Patriarchs, an Hundred and Eighty Archbishops and Bishops, and Three Hundred Abbots, the Embassadors of the Emperor, and of *England*, and of *France* assisted at it likewise. The Embassador of *England* was *Robert Allen*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, who preached before that Council, taking for his Text those Words of the *Psalmist*, *Justice and Judgment are the Preparation of his Seat*. And on this

Occasion, the King of *England* in his Letter to *Gregory*, exhorted him *to follow the Example of the true Mother, who contending before King Solomon, chose to make a Cession, rather than have her Son divided.*

The contending Popes were both cited by the Council, and neither of them having appeared, Processes were formed against them both; and Schism and Perjury having been proved upon them, they were both deposed, and the following Oath was formed, and taken by all the Cardinals before they went to an Election.

All we Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacon Cardinals, and every one of us singly here assembled in the City of Pisa, for the Extirpation of Schism, and to introduce Unity and a good State into the Church of GOD, do on the Word of Truth, promise to GOD and to the Roman Church, and to the Holy Synod assembled here in the Name of Christ, that if any of us be chosen the chief Roman Pontiff, he shall continue the present Council, and shall neither dissolve it, nor so far as in him lies suffer it to be dissolv'd, until by its Advice a due, reasonable, and sufficient Reformation shall be made in that universal Church, and in its State, in the Head, as well as in the Members. And we do also promise, That if a Cardinal that is absent, or one that is not of our College shall be chosen Pope; that before we make a Publication of his Ele-

Election, we will with our whole Strength, truly, and bona Fide procure the same Promise from him, with a sufficient Security that he shall observe and fulfil the same, &c.

The Cardinals then proceeded to an Election, and chose the Cardinal *Peter Philargi*, a Greek, who took the Name of *Alexander*.

We must not think that *Gregory* and *Benedict* were doing nothing all this while, for *Gregory* having created Nine more new Cardinals, did, to confront the Council of *Pisa*, call a Council at *Aquileia*, to which he invited all Christian Princes, Prelates, and Communities. But when that Council was open'd, there were few Prelates at it besides *Neapolitans*, who joined with *Gregory* in Anathematizing the whole Council of *Pisa*, and *Peter de Luna*, and *Peter Philargi*, and all that adher'd to them. But *Gregory* being under strong Apprehensions that for having given this bold Blow, the Council of *Pisa*, which had most of the great Christian Princes on its Side, might have had him apprehended, he skulk'd about for some time in a Disguise, but appeared at last at *Ariminum*, whose Prince *Charles Malafteta*, was the only sure Friend he had left; where he offered to leave the Decision of his whole Cause to a Council he would call, and which should meet in any Place that *Rupert* King of the Romans, *Ladislaus* King of Naples, and *Sigismund* King of Hungary should agree to name.

name. This was certainly the grossest Trick that *Gregory*, or any Man else ever offered to put upon the World ; those three Kings being at that time all to pieces so, that it was not to be expected that they could be brought to treat about that, or any other Matter ; or that if they did, they would ever have agreed on the same Place.

Benedict had likewise called a Council at *Perpignan*, at which were present Nine Cardinals, and an Hundred and Twenty *Spanish* Prelates, but this Council anathematized no Body, and did submit to *Benedict* upon his having renewed his Promise to them to abdicate the Papacy, whenever his doing of it would put an End to the Schism ; but we shall see hereafter how far he was from being as good as this Promise.

Alexander lived but ten Months after he was chose, and did little more than excommunicate *Ladislaus*, and deprive him of his Kingdom, which he bestowed on the Duke of *Anjou*, to whom *Benedict* had given it. It was this *Alexander* that used to say of himself, *That he was a rich Bishop, a poor Cardinal, and a Beggar when he was Pope.*

Alexander being dead, the Cardinals went presently to an Election, and chose *Baltazar Cossa*, who took the Name of *John*. He was one of a most profligate Life and Principles ; and being exceedingly rich, and the Cardinals that chose him very poor, the Ladder

der by which he had ascended the Pontifical Chair, was so visible, that the Council of *Constance* did once resolve to have punished all his Electors as *Simonaicks*. It was no Wonder therefore that having bought the Papacy so dear, he was so unwilling to part with it, as we shall see he was. *John*, to reimburse himself, created fourteen Cardinals presently, and did beat up a *Croisado* against King *Ladislaus*, promising to all that should bear Arms in that Holy War, or that should contribute Money towards the Charges of it, a Plenary Indulgence of all their Sins. The Thing that made this *Croisado* to look like a Trick to get Money, was, *John's* having soon after struck up a Peace with that King; in which Peace one Article was, *That the Duke of Anjou should have no Right from the Papal See to the Kingdom of Naples*: Another Article was, *That Gregory, if he did abdicate the Papacy within three Months, should, during his Life, be the Legate of Marca d' Ancona, and should have forty thousand Aurei paid to him yearly, and have all his three Nephews created Cardinals*. For *John* being sensible, that if *Gregory* and *Benedict* did not abdicate presently, a Council would meet, that would lay aside both him and them, and have a fourth Person chosen; he would have spared for no Cost to have got them to have done it. But *Gregory*, though he was thrown off by *Ladislaus*, in conformity to the Peace which was betwixt

him and *John*, would not abdicate upon those Terms, and so retir'd to *Ariminum*. And for *Benedict*, he was a Man of that Spirit that it would have been in vain to have made him any such Offers, if he had been never so much distressed, which he was so far from being at this Time, that he made a greater Figure now in *Arragon*, than he had ever made at *Avignon*. The Occasion was this; Don *Martin* King of *Arragon* died at this time, and having left no Children behind him, there were five Competitors for his Crown. The First was the Count of *Urgel*; the Second the Count of *Luna*, whose base Blood had been legitimated by his Kinsman *Benedict*, so as to make him capable to succeed to the Crown of *Sicily*; the Third was the Duke of *Gandia*; the Fourth was the Prince of *Calabria*; the Last was Don *Ferdinand*, Infant of *Castile*. These Princes being sensible that *Benedict* would have a great Stroke in the disposing of the Crown, they all made their Court to him; and the States of the Realm having committed the Disposition of it to nine Persons, *Benedict* had got his famous Chaplain *Vincent Ferrier* to be one of the Nine, and a Brother of *Vincent's*, who was a Monk, to be another of them; and in all likelihood he had some Hand likewise in the Nomination of the other Seven.

Of all the Competitors *Benedict* favour'd the Infant Don *Ferdinand* the most, notwithstanding-

withstanding the Count *de Luna*, whom he had legitimated, was his own near Relation; but there was nothing so near akin to *Benedict*, or at least there was nothing so near his Heart as the Papacy; he therefore preferred Don *Ferdinand* to him, and to all the rest; who, besides that he was a very brave Prince, was Governour of *Castile* during his Nephew's Minority, who was but a Child, and was so well beloved in that Kingdom, that the Crown of it was offered to him by the *Grande*s, to the Exclusion of his Nephew, but he had refused to take it. This was a Prince, who being King of *Arragon*, would be likely to afford *Benedict* the Support that he wanted. And accordingly the Crown of *Arragon* was given to Don *Ferdinand*. And when some complained of the Injury that was done to the Count of *Urgel*, *Benedict* endeavoured to stop their Mouths with that Law of the *Goths*, which prohibited all upon the Death of the King to usurp the Crown, or to procure it for themselves by Arms in a tyrannical manner. But this not having been enough to stop Peoples Mouths, namely, the Count of *Urgel*'s Mother, who cry'd shame on the Deputies for the Injury they had done her Son: Friar *Vincent* mounted the Pulpit, and with a vehement Declamation, maintained the Justice of the Sentence of the Nine Judges, extolling *Ferdinand* so high above the other Four that were his Competitors, as if they had

had not deserved on that, or on any other Occasion, to have been named with him.

Sigismund King of the *Romans* having set his Heart extreamly on the Extirpation of the Schism, he obliged *John*, much against his Will, to call a Council at *Constance*, and to be present at it himself, as that King himself was likewise. Of the Acts of that Council, and of *John's* true Papal Behaviour in it, I have said so much in my *Preface* to Doctor *Vargus's* Letters, that I shall here only mention, That by that Council *John* was constrained to abdicate the Papacy, as *Gregory* did also by a Procurator; but for *Benedict*, he could never be prevailed with to do it. But being laid aside by all Princes and States, he retired to a strong Castle which he had on the Sea-Coast of *Valentia*, where he lived privately several Years, but revered as Pope by all that were about him, or that he would suffer to come near him. And having only two Cardinals that adher'd to him to the last, he made them promise him to choose a new Bishop of *Rome* as soon as the Breath was out of his Body; and when he was speechless, being jealous that they would be afraid to do it, he made a Sign to have Pen, Ink, and Paper, and in Writing, enjoyn'd them under the Penalty of an eternal Curse, for to make that Election. He died in the Ninetieth Year of his Age, the *Spaniards* say of Poyson, given him by one

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Thomas a Monk, who was employ'd by the Cardinal of *Pisa*; and in the Thirtieth Year after he was chosen Pope. He was certainly one of the greatest Examples of a Firmness of Mind that was not to be shaken, that any Age has produced.

The two Cardinals, according to the Promise they had made to *Benedict*, went to an Election, and chose one *Ægidius*, a Canon of *Barcelona*; who took the Name of *Clement*; and being acknowledged Pope by the King of *Arragon*, upon a Quarrel betwixt that King and Pope *Martin*, he created several Cardinals, but at the end of five Years he abdicated the Papacy, and was made Bishop of *Miorca*, and to maintain the Honour of *Benedict*, and his own Title to the Papacy, his Cardinals, by his Order, did choose *Peter Columna*, who had been chosen Pope many Years before by the Council of *Constance*.— This Abdication, which did put an End to the Schism that began in the Year 1378, was made in the Year 1429, so that it lasted something above fifty Years.

One thing I have observed of this Schism; which is, That the Arts of Dissimulation and Tricking were perhaps never improved to that Height, nor as it were canonized so, as they were by the contending Popes; and that in that vile respect, *Europe* was long the worse for it, if it be not so still; but especially the Court of *Rome*, which before did use
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to carry things by Confidence, and gross pious Frauds, more than by dark Intrigues and profound Policy, of which that Court has been ever since the great Academy.

The Four and Twentieth Schism in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Felix* and *Eugenius*.

Pope *Eugenius* having been deposed by the Council of *Basil*, in the Year 1439, for violating the Constitution of the Council of *Constance*, asserting the Supream Authority of General Councils, and appointing that they should frequently assemble to reform the Church both in its Head and Members; *Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*, who was esteemed the wisest, and most pious Prince of that Age, was chosen Bishop of *Rome* by that Council; he took the Name of *Felix*, and was crowned Pope at *Basil* with great Solemnity.

By some he is said to have been at first acknowledged by the *French*, who it is certain were, and to this Day are, generally Friends to the Council that chose him, and to the Grounds on which his Election stood. But however that was, he was certainly owned by the King of *Arragon*, and by the Queen of *Hungary*, and by the Duke of *Bavaria*: And a Diet of the Empire having met soon after his Election at *Frankfort*, *Felix* sent three Cardinals to it, the chief of which was *Panormitan*, whom he had created a Cardinal, and who was the most eminent Lawyer

Lawyer of his Age. He did demonstrate to the Diet, That according to the Constitutions of the Council of *Constance*, *Felix* had an indubitable Title to the *Roman See*, as it is very plain he had. *Eugenius* had likewise his Nuncio's at that Diet, and who having been heard the Empire came to a Resolution to continue in a Neutrality, as to these Two contending Popes, until a general Council should meet to decide the Controversie that was betwixt them. In conformity to which Resolution, the Emperor sent Embassadors, both to *Felix* and to *Eugenius*, to perswade them to the Calling of a new indubitable general Council. *Eugenius's* Answer to these Embassadors was, that he wondred what the *Germans* meant, by desiring to have a General Council, when there was one sitting at that Time in the *Lateran*, to which Church *Eugenius* had a little before translated his Council from *Florence*; of which Council, and of *Eugenius's* true Papal Behaviour, and Pretences in it, I have spoke at large in the fore-mentioned Preface.

The Emperor, soon after that Diet was up, being in the Neighbourhood of *Basil*, he was invited by *Felix*, and the Council to that City; but he refused to go, unless they first promised to have a new Council called, to put an End to the present Schism. The Council told him that could not be, since if they were once dissolved, another General Council

cil could not be called, upon the Authority of the Synod of *Constance*, until ten Years after : But that to gratify him, they would consent to the Translating of the Council from *Basil*, to any other City that he should name. The Emperor being satisfied with this Promise went to *Basil*, where he visited *Felix*, and excused his not paying him the customary Reverences, upon the Neutrality the Empire was in.

Felix, not being able to perswade the Emperor to declare for him, did, to hold fast the King of *Arragon*, offer to confirm the first Adoption of *Jone* Queen of *Naples*, and with it his Title to the Crown of that Kingdom ; and to pay him two hundred and twenty thousand *Aurei*, towards the recovering of the Patrimony of the Church : But he was out-bid by *Eugenius*, who to draw that Prince from *Felix*, who he knew was his chief Support, did not only bestow on him an ample Investiture of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and remit a great Debt which was due from it to the *Roman See* ; but he did also legitimate *Ferdinand*, the natural Son of *Alfonso*, declaring him and his Heirs capable of succeeding to the Crown of *Sicily*. This Legitimation was made in a secret Article, and which *Alfonso* promised not to make publick until after *Eugenius's* Death ; for in Contradiction to this secret Article, it was said expressly in the Instrument of the Investiture, that

that in case *Alfonso* died without lawful Heirs of his Body, the Kingdom of *Sicily* should return to the Papal See. Thus *Eugenius* sacrificed his Memory after his Death, to the Service of his Interest whilst he was alive; so that whether he or *Felix* had the true Title to the Papacy, he was certainly the truer Pope of the Two.

But *Eugenius*, when he met with *Alfonso*, did meet with his Match; for that Prince, after he had the Kingdom of *Sicily* settled thus on him and his Heirs, revived the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of that Crown so, that he left the Pope little or no Authority in that Kingdom. Against this *Sicilian* Supremacy, *Baronius* has writ a Book with the same Popish Vehemence, that *Bellarmino* and *Suarez* have writ against the Supremacy in *England*.

In the Reign of *Charles* the Fifth, the Gests of this *Sicilian* Supremacy, through several Ages, were collected by divers eminent Divines and Lawyers, and who attested their being genuin by a Subscription of all their Names to them severally; Three, or at most Four of those Original Manuscripts, and which are huge Volumes in Folio, with all those Subscriptions to them, having been written to be laid up in *Sicily* and *Spain*, for the securing of that Supremacy; one of those three or four Original Manuscripts, is now in the Possession of the Learned Doctor *Moor*,
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the Present Bishop of *Ely*; by whom the greatest, and the most curious Collection of Books in all Languages, and in all sorts of Learning has been made, that was ever made by any Man in *England*: If there was ever the like made by one single Man any where else; and for the use of the Publick, that noble Treasure could not have light into better Hands; its Doors being constantly open, to all that have the Curiosity to search after the Things old and new, wherewith it abounds.

Alfonso, having thus deserted *Felix*, he commanded all that were at *Basil*, who had any Preferments within his Dominions, to leave that Place, and to Subtract their Obedience from *Felix*, and submit themselves to *Eugenius*, as to the true Bishop of *Rome*: By this Command, *Felix* and the Council were deserted by many Prelates, namely by three Cardinals of his own Creation, and of which the great *Panormitan* was one, and who was a greater Loss to *Felix* than half of the Council besides would have been; divers of the Books of that Learned Lawyer are published, but that which he writ in Defence of the Council of *Basil*, and of *Felix's* Election, has I believe undergone the common Fate of all Books, which contained any thing that was prejudicial to the Papal Supremacy, when the Popes have been able to come at them to destroy them. *Felix* was also left by his

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Secretary *Æneas Sylvius*, who having gone to be Secretary to the Emperor, he was the chief Instrument of setting him and all *Germany* against his old Master; for having been gained by *Eugenius*, when he carried a Message to him from a Diet of the Empire, he did, Renegado like, turn a most violent Enemy to his old Master, and the Council of *Basil*, in which he had for some Years been the fiercest Man against *Eugenius*. So that if it was this *Æneas*, as I think it was, that said, *The Council, which had no Bishopricks in its Gift, would never be able to contend long with Eugenius, who had so many in his*, no Man verified that Prediction more visibly than he did, who for having deserted his Party, and turned a Zealot against it, was first created a Cardinal, and afterwards chosen Pope; and had the World but a true Narrative of all the vile Arts and Methods, which the Popes through many Ages have made use of to get themselves chosen, it would be the blackest Part in an universal History. Not that *Felix* himself was not something to blame for his being deserted thus, who, though he was full of Money, did plainly starve his Cause; his Answer to those who were for putting him on any great Expence, being constantly, *I have a numerous Issue, and I will not leave them Beggars.*

I am mistaken, if I have not read somewhere, that it was believed by the most Intelligent,

telligent, that this Duke had turned Hermit, and which he was when he was chosen by the Council, and that *Charles* the Fifth did resign all his Dominions, and retired to a Monastery, for no other end but to put themselves in a fair way to be elected Pope, and that the thing they both aimed at in seeking after that Ecclesiastical Dignity, was to have brought all the Papal Territories into their own Families, and made them all Hereditary in them. But whether there was any grounds for this Conjecture I shall leave to the Enquiry of Statesmen, who by Princes Actions are able to penetrate into their darkest Designs in them.

But as great Assemblies do seldom, whilst they are in Being, suffer those they have raised to the Head of Government, to be long very easy; so *Felix* having met with several Disgusts from the Council, he left *Basil*, and went to reside at *Lausane*, a City in *Switzerland*; and having there attained a License from the Council to create Five more new Cardinals, he created so many, but did publish only two, and one of them having been the Bishop of *Uiseu*, makes me think the Kingdom of *Portugal* did adhere to *Felix* at that time. After *Felix* had resided some Months at *Lausane*, he was invited by the Council to return to them, but he desired to be excused, pretending that many waited on him there who would not come to him at *Basil*.

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Eugenius the Fourth having died in the Year 1447, his Cardinals proceeded to an Election, and chose *Thomas Sarazana* an *Italian*, who took the Name of *Nicholas*.

This *Thomas* is said to have done all that was in his Power, to have kept the Cardinals from choosing him, but since they would do it, he deny'd himself so far as to accept of their Kindness; neither could *Sarazana*, believing the Emperor's Dream to be a Heavenly Vision, be hindred by the most stubborn Humility from the accepting of that Honour, the Emperor on the Night Pope *Eugenius* died at *Rome*, having seen him in a Dream at *Vienna*, take off his Pontifical Robes, and put them on *Sarazana*: who having been thus cloathed in those Robes, with Pope *Eugenius*'s own Hands, must have been a very ill Man, if he had been cloathed so with Humility, as not to have wore them; and who if he was really so humble, as to have an utter Aversion for all Dignities, was certainly the unhappiest Man alive; for in one Year he had three great Mortifications, of the being made a Bishop, a Cardinal, and last of all Pope. The Thing that mounted this humble Man so fast, notwithstanding his having strove so much against it, was his having been the chief Instrument in drawing *Germany* out of its Neutrality to submit to *Eugenius*.

The *Germans*, *English* and *French*, upon *Nicholas*'s Election joyned together, to persuade

swade *Felix* to abdicate, and accordingly Embassadors were sent from all those Nations to *Laufane*, where the Council was, and to *Geneva*, where *Felix* then resided, for on *Felix's* not having gone to *Basil*, and the Plagues being in it, the Council had left that City, and come to him at *Laufane*, which is but a little way from *Geneva*; after a short Treaty, *Felix*, with the consent of his Council, did offer to make a Cession of the Papacy on the following Conditions.

First, That having made that Cession, he should be Bishop of *Sabinum*, and the first Cardinal in the College.

Secondly, That he should till his Death wear the Pontifical Robes, but he was not to have the Sacrament carried before him, nor to use the Ring of the Fisher-Man, nor to have the Cross upon his Foot, nor to have the Canopy carried over him.

Thirdly, He was, during Life, to be the Apostolical Legate in all the Dominions of *Savoy*, and was in all Places to use the Legatine Ensigns.

Fourthly, That he should be under no Obligation to go to the Court of *Rome*, nor to any Council.

Lastly,

Lastly, That if he visited the Pope, the Pope should rise up to him, and admit him to kiss his Mouth.

The Council did also consent to dissolve its self, on the following Terms.

First, That all Promotions, Elections, Confirmations, Provisions, &c. which had been made by *Felix*, and by the Council at *Basil*, or at *Laufane*, shall be approved, confirmed and ratified by the Pope, and the College of Cardinals.

Secondly, That all who have been deprived by *Eugenius*, for adhering to *Felix*, or the Council, shall be fully restored.

Thirdly, That the Cardinal of *Arles*, who was deprived by *Eugenius* shall be restored, and the Cardinals which have been created by *Felix*, shall be received into the College of Cardinals.

Lastly, That all that had been said or written odiously against *Felix*, and the Council, and those who adhered to them shall be declared null, and void, and shall be taken out of *Eugenius's* Registers, and out of all other Places, to be abolished.

To all which Articles Pope *Nicholas* having agreed, *Felix* made a Cession of the Papacy,

pacy, and the Council dissolved its self with the Honour of having had *Felix*, by his Adversary, supposed to have been the true Pope, and by having most of its Acts allowed by him.

But though a free Council, such as this of *Basil* was, on the Foot of the Constitution of the Council of *Constance*, was a thing the *Italian* Popes had resolved to abolish, yet *Nicholas* did not care, if after the Example of the Synagogue, he gave this Council an honourable Burial; but he, and his Successors have ever since, and most of them in Contradiction to an Oath, which they had took before they were chosen Pope, made it one of their chief Cares, to keep such Councils from rising any more; for the Councils of the *Lateran*, and of *Trent*, which have been since, were visibly the Popes Councils under whom they were in a perfect Bondage, and not free Councils of the Church.

To conclude, can any read this Treatise, and believe the Facts related in it, among which, I don't know that there is one that has not a good Authority for its Truth, and not stand amazed at the Fore-heads of the Men, who, though they know all these things to be true, yet will have the Certainty of the Papal Succession to be the great Foundation of the Christian Church: And if this be not to take the Church off the Rock, on which Christ built it, to build it on a loose

Sand,

Sand, Sense, Reason and Experience, must have no Credit given to their Testimonies any longer; for one may safely challenge all the hardy Champions of the Papacy, to produce such a long List of Schisms as this, in any other Patriarchal or Episcopal *See*, or to shew where there have been one half of the Uncertainties, as to who was its true Bishop, in any other Bishoprick, as we see there has been in the *Roman*.

It was Saint *John's*, in the Spirit of Prophecy, seeing the Apostate *Roman* Church, with an high Hand, and a shameless Forehead, thus bearing down the Testimonies of the Holy Scriptures, and of common Sense, Reason and Experience, that made him cry out, *And when I saw her, I wondered with great Admiration.*

And who, seeing it now in Fact, can forbear Wondring at it in the same manner; and Lamenting, to see the Truth and Stability of the Christian Faith, which has the Word of God for its Foundation, thus sacrificed to the Interests of Popery, which to make its self great and necessary, takes that Holy Faith off that Rock on which Christ built it, to set it on a Succession, which is naturally uncertain, and visibly broken in above twenty Places, and probably in many more; for if that Constitution of Pope *Julius's* be in Force, which voids all Papal Elections, in which any thing has been given

or promised to any of the Electors, it will not be easy for one, that has observed the Course of those Elections, to believe, that there has been a Bishop in the *Roman See* since that Constitution was made, and which was above two hundred Years ago; or that there is any likelihood, that there ever will be a Bishop in it, until either the Cardinals are much changed from what they have been for some Ages, or the Papacy is become a less considerable Preferment.

Neither is it by her Schisms only, that the *Roman See* has made *Europe* a Scene of Blood and Confusion so often; but to exalt herself, she has been above six hundred Years Embroyling it continually. And the Truth is, the bold Claim which that *See* has put in to an universal Monarchy, directly over the whole Catholick Church; and indirectly over the whole World; is naturally, and has been in fact, the most fertile Seed-plot of Wars, Fightings and Tragical Contentions, that ever was laid on Earth by humane Ambition. So that until either the Papacy drops that Claim, and which it is not like to do; or all Churches and Princes shall put their Necks under its Yoke, and to which many of them are resolved never to submit, upon any Terms; it cannot be otherwise, but that there must be continually such direful Strugglings and Disturbances, as *Europe* has felt from it for some Ages. In the Popes deposing of Emperors,

perors, and other Sovereigns, and trampling on their Crowns and Necks; and in absolving Princes from the Faith of publick Treaties, and the Oaths which they have taken to their Subjects; and in absolving Subjects likewise from their Allegiance to their Natural Lords; and in plotting and fomenting Treasons, Rebellions, Assassinations and Massacres, Applauding, if not Canonizing, the Authors of them; and in a Word, by continually Practising all the vile Arts and Methods, which a black Policy has been able to suggest to a boundless and restless Ambition. In so much, that were the Wars, Massacres, Assassinations, and publick Confusions, which have ever been in the World, merely on the Account of Religion, all put together, they would not amount to the hundredth Part of those the Papacy has been the Author of in *Europe*, in the space of six hundred Years. So that of *Right* let the *Roman See* be what she will, in Fact she has been undoubtedly the greatest, the most lasting, and the most indefatigable Incendiary, and Disturber of its Peace the World was ever plagu'd withal. And of its *Right* I shall not here say any thing more, than what I think I have proved in another Place; that it is the most Chimerical and Fantastical, that did ever give the World any Disquiet.

The End of the Fourth Tract.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
IN TWO VOLUMES
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
OF THE BARRISTER AT LAW
IN GREAT BRITAIN
AND OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1765.
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A
V I E W

Of all the Orders of
Monks and Friars

I N T H E
Roman Church.

W I T H

An Account of their F O U N D E R S,
sufficient to help any one to form a
Right Idea of the Men, or of the Wri-
ters of their Lives.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D. and
Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Churchill, at the *Black Swan* in
Pater-Noster-Row. 1714.

VOLUME

OF THE

RECORDS AND

PROCEEDINGS

WITH

A HISTORY OF THE

CHURCH OF

ENGLAND

FROM THE

T H E
P R E F A C E.

ALL that I shall say here, of the following Accounts of the Founders of all the Orders of Monks and Fryars in the Roman Church, is, That they are taken from their greatest Friends and Admirers; and that, if they be true, they do make those Founders to have been a very strange sort of People; and that if they are not, the World has been long shamefully abused, into an high Opinion of those Men, by false Stories of them, and which I do take to be their Case. For it is very plain, That after the Example of the Writers of Romances, the Writers of the Lives of the Popish Saints, do say every thing that they think will raise the Characters of their Heroes, not being at all concern'd whether what they say of them were done by them or not: And he who is so happy as to say a great thing of his Saint, that was never said of any Saint before, reckons he has touched Heaven with his Finger, and to the roaving after such Singularities, in their Festival Sermons, as well as in their Legends, the most monstrous Stories, that ever were invented, do owe their Birth; as the Reader will see in some of the following Accounts; which might all have been made much larger, if I would have
used

The Preface.

used all the Stuff that belongs to them. But I doubt the having made some of them so long, will need an Apology, more than some of them then being so very short. As to the Monastick Orders, tho' I will not, by reason of the various small Shreds there are of several of them, only in particular Places, say that I have named them all; yet none of them that are any-wise considerable, have, I believe, escaped me; nor any thing in any of them that is very remarkable. But in case this View should not be thought large enough, it may, I hope, excite some that think it is not, to give the World a larger View of them, which I should be very glad to see. For it is very plain, That the Tyranny of the Papacy, and all the Popish Corruptions of the Christian Faith and Worship, do owe both their Rise and their Support chiefly to the Monasticks, and to the ill Use, they, through several Ages, have made of the Legends of their Founders, and of others that belonged to them; and of the Miracles they pretended were wrought in Monasteries by their Images and Reliques, to the creating of such a monstrous Chaos of Superstition, as was never no where else in the World.

A

View of all the Orders

O F

Monks and Friars

I N T H E

R O M A N C H U R C H .

With an Account of their *Founders*, &c.

ALL, or most of the First Monks, having been Men that spent most of their time in Desarts, in the Divine Exercises of Contemplation and Devotion; the World came quickly to have a wonderful Veneration for them, looking on them as Heavenly-minded Men, that did approach very near to the Perfection of Angels. By means of which great Veneration, it was, that quick-sighted Pride and Ambition, did quickly begin to see their Accounts more in that course of Life, than in any other, and so Multitudes came to be led into the Desarts, to take that Profession upon them, by
Views

Views quite contrary to theirs, by whom that Profession's Credit had been raised so high; and who did in time, by their great Numbers, refined Pride, keen Tempers, and the Power their Profession helped them to over the Spirits of the People; grow so Factious and Turbulent, as to give both the Church and State great Disturbances: Many of those Monks being represented by *Gregory Nazianzen*, as Crews of Ruffians or Bandities, rather than any thing else.

The First that advanced the Credit of Monkery in the *West*, was *St. Jerom*, who tho' a very Learned and Good Man, yet having some Passions the World had not taken care to gratifie, he grew angry with it, and having retired into the *East*, did turn a Monk there: And to be revenged on the unjust World, he made, as if it were scarce possible for any to be saved without Renouncing it, so far as to turn Monk.

But tho' Monkery had its Way paved for it into the *West* by *St. Jerom*, it was many Years after his Death, before any Order of Monks was instituted in it.

Benedict, who lived above 100 Years after *St. Jerom*, being reckoned the Father of the Monkish Order in the *Western* Parts; and tho' it does not appear that *Benedict* did form any Order of Monks with the three Vows, yet since the oldest Monkish Order in the *Roman* Church is called by his Name,

I shall

I shall first give a short Account of him, and of that Order; in which, and in all the rest, the Reader may believe as much, or as little, as he shall see cause.

Benedict was born near *Rome*, about the Year 480. and having whilst he was a Boy, grown weary of the World, he went to the Defart of *Subalca* in *Italy*, where he was lodg'd by a Monk, whose Name was *Romon*, in the Cleft of a Rock, that was of a very difficult Access. *Romon* bringing to him all the Victuals that he could steal or spare out of his Belly. But *Romon* having forgot to carry him any on *Easter-Eve*, a Priest that was providing Victuals for himself against that Feast, was by a Voice from Heaven bid, *Not to take so much care of his own Gut, but to carry that he had provided to the place where Benedict was.* The Priest did so, and did both give *Benedict* his Victuals, and tell him, That it was *Easter-day*, which *Benedict* did not know before. And having been afterwards forced, by Hunger it is like, to creep out of his Cleft; some Shepherds seeing a Creature among the Bushes covered with Beasts Hair, they were much affrighted, taking it to have been some strange and savage Monster; but having at last seen *Benedict's* Face, they took heart and went up to him; and having been much edify'd by his Discourse, they acquainted the Neighbourhood with what they had seen; and who ha-

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ving

ving all flock'd to him, he was supply'd by them with all Necessaries, for which *Benedict* paid them well with godly Exhortations. One Day the Devil appeared to *Benedict* in the Shape of a little Black-bird, and came so near his Mouth, that *Benedict* might have caught him, but instead of doing that, he crossed his Mouth, and the Black-bird flew away, but did leave behind him so terrible a dishonest Carnal Temptation, that *Benedict* never had the like before, nor after; for he was, by its means, for some time in a Quandary, whether it would not be best for him to go back to the World again; but having returned to himself, he threw off all his Cloaths, and did rowl among Thorns and Briars, until he had rowl'd all his Skin off; so his great Pain did drive away the Temptation. After his Name was high all over the Country for his Austerities, he was desired by some Monks that lived in the same Desert to come and live with them, and be their Prelate; he told them, *He would have nothing to do with them, for he knew them to be a loose Crew*; but they would not be deny'd, so he went with them. But it was not long before they were so weary of his strict Government, that they had conspired to poyson him; and having given him Poyson in a Cup, the Cup broke before it had touched his Lips; so he left them and returned to his Cleft again, telling them at parting, *They were the wicked Crew*

Crew he took them to be. The whole Country flock'd to him so, and brought such great Offerings, that in a short time he had built twelve Monasteries. After this a certain Priest, whose Name was *Florentino*, did begin to persecute him after a most outrageous manner; asking the People that went after him, *Where are you going, ye Company of Fools? What is that Monk more than another Man?* And, *Whether they did not know that there were many Hypocrites in the World, who by a Counterfeit Sanctity sought to propagate Errors which they had broached.* And not satisfy'd with this, *Florentino* sent him a Loaf that was poyson'd, for a Present. But whereas *Benedict* had a Raven that came to him constantly every Day, and did eat out of his Hand, and whom he always called *Brother*; so having offered his Brother that Loaf, he refus'd to take it, and flew Croaking about him. *Benedict* said, *Brother, I did not offer you this Loaf, that you should eat it, but that you might carry it, and hide it some where, that it may never do any hurt.* His Brother did so, and being return'd had his Dinner according to Custom. *Florentino*, notwithstanding this Disappointment, did not give over persecuting of *Benedict*; and having got together a great Number of common Strumpets, they were sent by him to dance Naked about the place where *Benedict* was; they did so, and to *Florentino's* great Joy,

made *Benedict* leave it ; but that Joy lasted not long, for soon after *Florentino's* House fell down upon him, and killed him. *Benedict* was extremely troubled when he heard of his Death ; it was not for his having died in so ill a State ; but, he said, it was, *Because he had lost an Enemy, who if he had lived, would have increased his Merits much.* And having, after this great Loss, been informed, That on the Mountain of *Cassino*, *Apollo* had still a Temple, and was worshipped in it with Sacrifices ; he went with his Brethren and pulled it down to the Ground, and did set fire to all the Groves that were about it, and having built a Monastery in the same Place, he converted all that Country to Christianity:

The Devil being very angry with *Benedict*, for having taken that Mountain from him, called, *Benedict, Benedict*, as if he would speak with him ; but *Benedict* knowing who he was, vouchsafed him no Answer ; so the Devil left him, crying out, *Maledict, Maledict, what have you to do with me ? Why do you persecute me so much ?* And having thrown down a Wall that was building, a Boy was killed by the fall of it, but who was soon restored to Life again by *Benedict*. Brother *Placido* had been drowned, if Brother *Mauro* had not been sent by *Benedict* to draw him out of the River. There was a heavy stir about who had been the Author of that Miracle ; *Bene-*
dict

dict attributing it to *Mauro's* Merits ; and *Mauro* to *Benedict's*. Such Adventures of *Benedict's* are endless ; and believing that the Reader and I are pretty well agreed, that here are enough of them, I shall add no more.

The Order called the *Benedictine*, as it is the Oldest, so it is the Richest Order in the *Roman Church*. It was above 300 Years ago said to have had 15000 Houses, and if it had so many then, it must now have a great many more. Its Monasteries have all certain Rents settled upon them, sufficient to maintain their Monks, and which are, in some of them very numerous, and they do in none of them look as if they were Starved. Their Habit is all Black ; in imitation it is like of that of the *Raven*, who was *Benedict's* first Brother ; and the Leather-Belt which they wear, is believed to have so much Vertue in it, that it is kissed upon the Knee by all that Visit them, if they would be well received.

The Second Order of Monks, and which did with all the rest arise out of Relaxations of the *Benedictine*, is that of *Cluny* in *France*, which was Instituted about the Year 900, by Abbot *Odo*.

This Order differs but very little from the *Benedictine*, either as to its Rule, or as to its Habit ; and their Founders do differ so little one from another, that I shall be the shorter

upon *Odo*; who when he was a Boy, being much delighted with *Virgil*, he was cured of that dangerous Appetite by a Vessel which was very Curious being shewed to him, but which was within full of deadly Serpents; and lest *Odo* should by his great Fondness for *Virgil* have been hindred from applying that Vision right, the Application was made by a Voice from Heaven; and which *Odo* having heard, he flung away his *Virgil*, and all its Serpents with it. And having been after that much devoted to St. *Martin*, though he met with no Serpents in his way as he went by Night to St. *Martin's* Church to pray to him, he met with Herds of Foxes, and which did pester him so, that he did not know what to do. This Plague continued until a kind Wolf came, and did offer *Odo* his Assistance; and of which *Odo* having accepted, that Wolf when he Travell'd was such a Guard to him, and when he was within Doors, such a Porter, that the Foxes never molested him any more.

Odo, after he was freed from this cruel Fox-Persecution, apply'd himself to his Studies; and to encourage him in them, Pope *Gregory* did one Night put a Pen into his Hand, and with which he collected *Gregory's* Morals into one Volume, which before laid dispersed all over his Works. They that are not satisfy'd with these Adventures of *Odo's*, may repair to *Surius*, where they may fill their Bellies with them.

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The Third Order of Monks in the *Roman* Church, is the *Camaldunian* in *Italy*; it was Instituted by *Romualdus*, about the Year 970, and differs more from the *Benedictine*, than that of *Cluny* does. The *Camaldunians* ordinarily having neither one common Dormitory, nor Refectory, their Cells being in separate Houses, and they do eat together but twelve times in a Year; and do never meet together at Divine Offices, but on Sundays and Holy-days; neither do they ever eat any Flesh, but when their Health requires it. Their Habit is White.

Romualdus, the Founder of this Order, was born in *Ravenna*, and who, having, when he was young been Sentenced to live forty Days in a Monastery, for having been concerned in a Duel, in which his Father, who was a Duke, had killed his Adversary, he was by a Miracle converted to be a Monk; he had often refused it, when he had been spoke to by a Monk with whom he had contracted an intimate Acquaintance. But that Monk having at last asked him, *Whether he would not be one, if St. Apolonar appeared to him*; he promised he would: And having with his Friend prayed all the first part of the Night before an Altar, at Cock-Crow, *St. Apolonar* came out from under it, all over cloathed with Light, and having a Golden Censer in his Hand, he went about in his Pontificalibus, and incensed all the Altars in the Church,

and after he had done that, went back, by the same way that he came. And tho' it is not said that *Apolonar* did speak a Word to *Romualdus* of turning Monk, he did nevertheless, upon that Vision, take the Habit upon him; and not having learnt to Read and Sing his Psalter, he was taught it by a Monk whose Name was *Marinus*, and who switch-ed him so severely on the left side of his Head, that his left Ear lost its Hearing; and which was bore by him with that Chearfulness, that he spoke to *Marinus* to switch him on the other side of the Head, when he deserved to be Corrected.

Never was poor Monk so cruelly persecuted by the Devil, and by so many ways as *Romualdus* was: At first the Devil made such a knocking in his Cell when he was in Bed, that he was not able to Sleep for the Noise; and wanting Sleep very much, the Devil having assumed a Body, did lye so heavy upon his Thighs and Legs, that he bruised them, and broke some of the Bones. And tho' he had often made the Devil slink out of his Cell asham'd of himself, he would not give over molesting him; and so frequently was he visited by the Devil, and with whom he always had one Conflict or another, that if any of the Monks did but happen to come to the Door of his Cell, he would run to it, and believing them to be the Devil, would cry out, *Accursed, what wouldst thou have? Bold Dog,*

Dog, I forbid thee to come here, thou poysonous Serpent, that was thrown down from Heaven, I do forbid thee. And with such Weapons as these, *Romualdus* was always prepared to fight the Devil when he came. But one Evening as he was saying his *Completas*, a Squadron of Devils rushed in upon him, and having knocked him down, they gave him several Wounds; but tho' he was ready to sink away by reason of his great Loss of Blood, he did not give over saying his *Completas*, 'till he came to the End of them, and then by a short Prayer he dispersed the whole Battalion.

After this great Victory, the Devil would never venture to come within his Reach, but would sometimes in the Shape of a *Raven*, at other times in the Shape of a *Bustard*, and at other times in the Shape of an *Æthiopian*, or of some Savage Beast, stand at a distance, making dreadful Faces at him. And tho' *Romualdus*, who understood the Laws of Duelling, would challenge and provoke him to come up to him, the Devil would never venture to do it; and who finding that he was no Match for *Romualdus*, he stirred up divers Monks to persecute him, and which they did with great Fury, but with as ill Success, as he that set them to work.

The Fourth Order of Monks in the Roman Church, is that of the *Valle Umbrosa*. It was instituted by one *Gilbert*, from whom
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those Monks are called *Gilbertines*. The Reader will, I believe, have enough of this *Gilbert*, after he is told, That he was *Romualdus's* Scholar, and that he was called to be a Monk by a Crucifix, which, when he was worshipping it, nodded its Head to him, and smiled upon him.

The Fifth Order of Monks, is the *Carthusian*. It was Instituted towards the end of the Eleventh Century, and is under none of the common Monastick Rules, but is govern'd by Constitutions of its own making. It is, both for Claufure and Diet, the strictest Order in the *Roman* Church. Its Monks live alone in Cells, which consist of a little Oratory, a small Study, and a Bed-Chamber; to which a small Garden is laid. On some certain Days they do all meet together at the divine Offices, and in the Refectory; and if the Weather will permit it, do all walk together a little way into the Fields, but I think without speaking a Word one to another. I have been in three of their Cells, and did heartily pity the three Monks that were in them, none of them, so far as I could observe, being Men of Contemplation, nor of Study, for they had but few Books besides their Offices; nor employ'd about any Handy-work; so that to me they seem'd to faunter away their heavy and irksome Time betwixt their Beds and their Gardens, and which are not big enough to employ them much.

much. For in truth, if they be not either very devout, or very studious, no Men are more to be pity'd; considering that most of them have thrown themselves into that solitary State of Life, more upon some great Discontent, than upon any settl'd Principle of Devotion, and fetter'd themselves in it by Vows for all their Days; so that if, with Time, that Discontent wears off, they must necessarily be unhappy, as well as with it. One of the Three that I saw, as the Merchant I went with to see him, and who was a great Acquaintance of his Fathers, told me, had thrown himself into that Monastery three or four Years before, to be revenged on his Friends for having crossed him in his Love. He sigh'd often, and seem'd to be very uneasie, and did force us to make him so long a Visit, and the Guardian, from whom the Merchant, who used to buy his Oranges, had Leave for us to see him, sent a Servant to call at the Door of the Cell, that the Gates were going to be shut; he seem'd to be very unwilling to part with us, and did bid the Merchant adieu with Tears in his Eyes. So that I do really believe the poor Man was the more uneasy for some Days, for his having had a short Snatch of Conversation. They have commonly very good Bread, and very good Wine, and enough of both; and tho' they must not taste Flesh, nor any thing that has touch'd it, no
not

not to save their Lives, they have commonly good Fish, and good Fruit ; so that I am apt to think, that their Diet does not give them half the Uneasiness, that their being alone, and having nothing to do, gives them ; and especially when they consider, that they are staked down to it for their Lives ; there being no Passage from the *Carthusian*, to any other Monastick Order.

This inhumane Order, was instituted by one *Bruno a German*, but who was a Canon of the Church of *Rheims*. I have not his Life at length by me, but the Reader will, I suppose, know enough of him, from the two Stories which are commonly told of his launching into that solitary Course of Life. The first is, That the Thing that drove him into it, was a *Parisian* Doctor, with whom he had been intimately acquainted, and of whose Piety, as well as Learning, he had an high Opinion, having for three Days following when they were ready to have put his Corps into the Grave, sat up, and declared, *That by the just Judgment of God, he was damned* ; and having said that, he lay down again.

The other Story is, That the Bishop of *Grenoble*, the Night before *Bruno* and his six Companions came to him, in quest of a solitary Place to live in, had a Vision, in which he saw Christ come down from Heaven, and in a desert Place of his Diocess, called the
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Chartreuse, build a Palace. He did likewise see seven Stars of the Colour of Gold, and which having joined themselves together, did make a Crown, which did by little and little raise its self from the Earth, and ascend up into Heaven. The Bishop at first sight knew *Bruno* and his six Companions to be the seven Stars which he had seen ; and so did bestow upon them all the Lands called the *Chartreuse*. And whatever the Monastery was, that *Bruno* built there, there is one so Great and Rich there at this Time, that the Bishop would not have had a true Vision of it, if it had not appeared to him as a Palace.

The Sixth Order of Monks in the *Roman* Church, is the *Cistercian*. It said to have been instituted by one Abbot *Robert* ; but whether it was or not, *Bernard* has now long had the Name of its Founder ; and in some Countries its Monks are from his Name called *Bernardines*. It differs more from the *Benedictine*, tho' it is under the Rule of that Order, than that of the *Cluny* does ; having several different Constitutions, and its Habit of a contrary Colour, being white.

Bernard was born in *France*, in the Twelfth Century. And to do him Justice, he seems to have had the best natural Parts, and the most Learning of any of the Monastick Founders ; and if it had not been for the Tragical Fraud he made use of to promote a very unfortunate *Cruzado*, and the other
Frauds

Frauds he used in favour of the Pope he adhered to in the Time of a Schism, his Sincerity and Piety might have been judg'd equal to his other Talents.

His Mother, when she was with Child of him, dreamt she had a white Dog in her Womb, which might be the Reason of the *Cisterians* Habit being white, as the *Raven* who was *Benedict's* first Brother, his Colour might be the Reason of the *Benedictines* Habit being black.

When he was a Child he was much troubled with the Head-ach, and an old Woman having been brought, who knew how to cure it, he would not suffer her to come near him, believing that she made use of Charms.

As he was at Church upon *Christmas-day*, when he was but a Boy, he pray'd, that the certain Hour when Christ was born might be reveal'd to him; and when that Hour was come, he saw a New-born Infant. What pity it was that *Bernard*, who has writ so much, did not record that Hour; about which, and the Day, and the Month, and the Year when Christ was born, Chronologers are still so much divided.

Having been in a very frosty Night seized on by a violent Carnal Temptation, he threw himself naked into a Pond of Water, and staid in it, until he was almost froze to Death.

Once as he was Preaching to a very great Congregation, who did all hang upon his
Lips,

Lips, a Temptation of Vain-glory invaded him, and he did hear a Voice within him, saying, *See, how all the People do attend to your Words.* He was about to have given over, to have mortify'd that Temptation: But having perceived that it was the Devil that had spoke to him, on purpose to have hindred the Good that was done by the remaining Part of that Sermon; he turned about his Head to the Devil, and said to him, *As I did not begin this Sermon for thee, so neither will I end it for thee,* and so went on. He was always very sickly, and was not only glad that he was so himself, but he judged it necessary for all Monks to be so; and for that Reason he built *Claraval*, and all his other Monasteries in low and damp Places.

He laboured hard to bring all his Monks to an uninterrupted Attention in their Devotions; and having been one Day as he was Riding, told by a Peasant, *That he found that to be an easie thing;* he promised him the Mule he rode upon, if he would but say the *Lord's-Prayer* without any Distraction of Thought; the Peasant began that Prayer, but before he was got half over it, he confessed, *It came into his mind, whether with the Mule he should have the Saddle and Bridle, or not.*

Being at *Pavia*, a Woman possessed with the Devil was brought to him, and the Devil, before *Bernard* had said a Word to the
Wo-

Woman, cry'd out, *Do you think that such an Onion and Leek Carrier as this is, is able to throw me out of Possession?* Upon that Bernard did order the Woman to be carried to St. *Sirus's* Church, in which, tho' *Sirus* had before dispossessed all that were ever brought to him, he would not do it at this time, that *Bernard* might have the Honour of it. The Devil in a scoffing manner said, *Thar neither little Sirus, nor little Bernard should turn him out.* But yet for all that, *Bernard* did drive him out, before he had done with him. And to another Woman in the same City, on whom the Devil had lain fix Years after a very dishonest manner, he gave a Stick, with which she cudgelled the Devil so, the first time he came, that he never troubled her any more.

Bernard, after he had perswaded the Kings of *England* and *France* to submit themselves to his Pope, not being able to prevail with the Duke of *Aquitain* to do it, he went one Day to that Duke with the Sacrament in his Hand, and the Duke having thrown himself down at *Bernard's* Feet, *Bernard* gave him a lusty Kick, and bid him rise and acknowledge the true Pope; the Duke rose, and being thus kicked into it, made his Submission.

The Three following Orders of Monks having nothing singular in them that is considerable, I shall but just mention them.

The

The Seventh Order of Monks is the *Cælestin*. It was instituted by *Petrus Moronus*, and who having been afterwards chosen Pope, did take the Name of *Cælestine*. This poor Monk was, by Cardinal *Cajetan*, who took the Name of *Boniface* the Eighth, perswaded to abdicate the *Roman* Chair, that he might spend his whole Time in Devotion. But his Successor *Boniface*, fearing, that if he were at Liberty in his Monastery, it might possibly come into his Head to return to his Pontifical Chair again, he kept him a close Prisoner as long as he lived.

The Eighth Order of Monks is the *Williamite*, which is likewise called the Order of *Montis Virginis*, and of *Montis Oliveti*. It was Instituted by one *William*, a Noble Italian, and it had many Years ago Forty-seven Monasteries. There were *Hermites* who were likewise called *Williamites*, from *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, but they were long ago thrown into the *Mendicant* Order of the Monks of *St. Austin*.

The Ninth Order of Monks is the *Silvestern*. It was instituted by a Monk of the *Valle Umbrosa*, and had long ago Twenty-seven Monasteries.

There was an Order of Monks in *Italy*, called the *Humiliati*. It was Instituted by the Nobles of *Milan*, and Confirmed by Pope *Innocent* the Third. But the *Humiliati* having in the last Age happened to quarrel with

the Cardinal *Borromeus*, Archbishop of *Milan*, Pope *Pius* the Fifth dissolved that Order in the Year 1570, and did seize on all the Revenues, which did arise to 70000 *Aurei*. It was given out, that they had all conspired together to have murder'd that Cardinal ; but the Popes and their Ministers have practised the vile Method of misrepresenting all that they are displeased with, too long, to be believed by any that know them in this, or in any other such Case.

The formentioned Orders of Monks, are all, besides the *Carthusians*, under the *Benedictine* Rule, and for that Reason I have given them the Precedency ; the Monks under the *Benedictine* Rule, being both the Oldest and the Richest in the *Roman* Church, in which the Monastick Rules are Four in Number, to wit, the Rule of *St. Basil*, the Rule of *St. Austin*, the Rule of *Benedict*, and the Rule of *Francis* ; not that the Two first Rules were made by *St. Basil*, and *St. Austin* ; but having been made many Ages after their Deaths, were to give them Credit, called by their great Names. The Difference of these four Rules, for they do all enjoin the three Monastick Vows of Poverty, Cœlibacy, and Obedience, are concerning the Strictness of the Claufure, and Diet, and Property ; in all which they are all, besides the *Carthusian* and the *Franciscan*, so relaxed by Papal Bulls and Dispensations, that it is not worth while
to

to mention those Differences. Those common Rules do differ from Statutes made by the Orders themselves for their own better Government, that nothing in those Rules can be altered by any but the Pope, to whom all the Monastick Orders are subject in a particular manner ; and who, if they were all brought together, would make up a much greater Army of stout bodied Men, than any Kings in *Europe* are able to raise ; for the sake of which immediate Dependance of all the Monastick Orders on the *Roman See*, they are in their Disputes with Bishops, and their Secular and their Parochial Clergy, commonly favoured by the Popes, as I shall shew hereafter. This great Monastick Army is put in Battel array to the Pope's Hand, by his Marshals, by whom the *Dominicans* are appointed to be, and are called the *Heavy*, and the *Franciscans* the *Light Horse*, and the Jesuits are by them appointed to be the Foot, and to carry *Harcubuses*, which will do Execution at a greater Distance than the Cavalry's Pistols and Carabines. The Jesuits are likewise the Engineers to this Army, and who, if they had not been prevented by a wonderful Providence, would, in the Gunpowder Plot, have given a most tragical Proof of their great Skill in that Art.

The Orders of Monks under St. *Austin's* Rule, as they call it, are the Canons Regular, the *Premonstratenses*, the *Dominicans*, the

Hieronomites, in divers Shapes, the *Servites*, the *Jesuati*, the *Crucigeri*, the *Boni Jesu*, the *Trinitarians*, the *Eremites* of *St. Augustin*, the *Theatines*, the *Paulistæ*; the military Orders of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, of *St. James* of *Compostella*, of the *Tutonick* Order, and of *St. Lazarus*, and of *St. Mauritius*.

I shall begin with the Canon Regulars; they are either Canons in Cathedral Churches, who were anciently all Seculars, and the Bishop's Council; brought under the three Monastick Vows, by the Craft of the Bishops of *Rome*, that they might depend the more on them, or are Canons in Churches Collegiate: So the Canons of the *Lateran* Church, who anciently were Seculars, were made Regulars, and did continue to be so for several Ages, to the unspeakable Advantage of the *Roman See*, which none but Monks could ever have raised to so great a Height, by such vile Methods as it was raised. And after this Pattern of the *Lateran*, the Canons in many Cathedral Churches in the *West*, were, it is like, made Regulars, to the great Disquiet of their Bishops. And though the Popes themselves have found it convenient to bring the Canons of the *Lateran* Church, which is their Cathedral, back again to be Seculars, yet they will not, where they have Power, suffer any other Bishop to make the same Change in his Cathedral. And as the Canon Regulars are got into abundance of Cathedrals,
and

and would be in them all besides the *Lateran*, if the Pope could have his Will: So they have great Numbers of Monasteries, and which are all Collegiate Churches; and commonly very Rich, and full of great Preferments, which are divided among them: Neither their Claufure, nor their Diet, is so strict as that of the Monks; their Habit is the same with that of the Secular Priests; only they wear a white Linnen Tunick over it: They also wear Caps, and have no Cauls; they live all in one House, or Monastery, and do eat together in a common Refectory, and have their provincial Chapters; but the Vow of Poverty is no where so ill observed, as it is among them, unless it be among the Jesuits.

The Canon Regulars are positive, that theirs is the oldest Order in the Church, having been instituted by *St. Peter*; but they have not as yet produced that Apostle's Monastick Rule, nor his Injunction of the three Vows; though it is very much, that that Pre-
tence had not done it before this Time.

The Second Order under the Rule called *St. Austin's*, is the *Premonstratenses*, it had its Name from *Premonstratum*, a Place in *France*, where its first Monastery was built; this Order was instituted by one *Noribert* a Nobleman of *Lorraine*, in the Beginning of the Twelfth Century; it has nothing singular in it, that is considerable.

The Third Order under the Rule called St. *Austin's*, is the *Dominican*, it was instituted in the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century, and is both the first Mendicant Order, and the first Order that had a solemn Confirmation from the Pope; it was confirmed by Pope *Honorius*, but seven Years before the *Franciscan* Order was confirmed by him. And as there are no People in the World among whom Emulations about Place and Precedency are higher, or fiercer, than among the Monastick Orders; so the *Franciscans*, being much disturbed at their having lost the Precedency of the *Dominicans*, but by seven Years; they are positive that their Order was by Word of Mouth approved of by Pope *Innocent* the Third, before the *Dominican*, and that that Approbation was tantamount to a Confirmation. The *Carmelites* and *Austins*, who are Mendicants likewise, but very proud Beggars, will have their Orders to be the first in the Church, and that they ought therefore in all Processions to have the Precedency; and if that would do it, the *Carmelites* are ready to swear that their Order was first instituted on Mount *Carmel*, by the Prophet *Elias*; and having much degenerated from what it was at first, was restored by St. *John* the Baptist, and the *Austin* Mendicants are ready to do as much, to prove, that their Order was instituted by St. *Austin*, who died many Years before either *Benedict*, or any other

other Monastick Founder was born ; but neither of them as yet, have been able to convince the Orders that take Place of them, nor I believe will never be able, that that ancient Prophet, and Father, did ever make Rules which required the three Monastick Vows to be taken, in which the Essence of a religious Order is reckoned to consist, and so they are forced much against their Wills to yield them the Place.

The *Dominican*, and all the other Mendicant Orders, do differ from the Monkish, in the main End of their Institution ; the main End of the Monkish Institution being Contemplation, and of the Mendicants Action ; by which Difference another was naturally created relating to Property, which was, that since the Monks did nothing for their Neighbours, they could have no Title to a Maintenance from them, and must therefore either starve, or must have notwithstanding their Vow of Poverty, a Right in their Community, though not in their Persons, to Goods sufficient to sustain them ; whereas the Mendicants being employ'd in preaching, and doing other religious Offices to their Neighbours, ought to be maintained by them, and to live upon their Alms, without any Right either in their Persons, or in their Communities to any other Goods ; but this original Difference betwixt Monks and Mendicants, has been long so confounded by the Migh-

ty Papal Power, that it is not now to be met with in any Mendicant Order, no not in the *Franciscan*, though it is true, Property is in their Communities, under more Distinctions than it is in any other, but still it is there, as to all useful Intents and Purposes.

The Thing that gave the first Rise to the *Dominican* Order was, its being found necessary, by reason of the great Number of the *Albigenses* which were in *France*, and were much the same with Protestants, to have an Order of Men set apart to oppose all that should deny the Papal Authority, or any of its Doctrines, and who were first to be employed to preach to those People. And when it was found by Experience that that would not do, they were to be appointed Inquisitors, with the Assistance of a *Cruzado* to worry them, as we shall see hereafter, in the Account of the Founder of this Order.

The *Dominican* Order is very numerous, there being no City, nor great Town, in any Popish Country, where they have not one or more Convents, and they are also pretty thick over the Country.

Its Habit is so like to that of the *Carthusians*, that if it had not been given to *Dominick* by a Miracle, it would have been suspected that he had taken it from those Monks.

It is a white Cassock, with a white Scapulary, and a black Cloak over them, and which has a Coul, as well as the Cassock; the

Domi-

Dominicans chief Vertue is in their Scapulary, as the Monks is in their Belt; and the *Franciscans* in their Sleeve, and which are all for that Reason kissed upon the Knee.

Before the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was started by *Scotus* a *Franciscan* Friar, the *Dominicans* carried all before them in the *Roman Church*; but by their having opposed that popular Conceit, though for no other Reason but because it was first started by the *Franciscans*, and had not been thought of by *Thomas Aquinas*, they have lost themselves very much, both in the Affections of the People, and as to the great Posts which were filled by them before. For as there is not now any where a Popish University, that does not require a Subscription to the Truth of that Doctrine, from all its Professors, and from all on whom it confers any Degrees; so the *Dominicans* are by that means excluded from all their Chairs and Degrees, as they are by the *Jesuits* excluded in a manner from the desirable Office, and which they held so long, of being Confessors to Princes. They are very uneasy under this, but they do not know how to help it, being ashamed to acknowledge a Doctrine, which they have so long, and so publicly opposed, in Contradiction to the *Franciscans*; with whom all the other Monastick Orders, but chiefly the *Jesuits* have joyned in maintaining

taining that popular Opinion, as they have also in the point of Predestination, which is strenuously asserted by the *Dominicans*, though perhaps for no other Reason, but because it was taught by *Thomas Aquinas* the great Idol of their Order. The *Dominican* is likewise called the Predicant Order, because they were for a long time the chief Preachers in the *Roman* Church, and because their Founder is said to have been a great Preacher himself, and to have laid it upon all his Friars as a great Duty ; though of late Years there are other Orders that exercise it much more than they do.

Dominick, the Founder of this Order, was born in *Spain* in the Year 1170. His Mother when she was with Child of him, Dreamt she was delivered of a Dog, with a flaming Torch in his Mouth, a proper Emblem enough of an Inquisitor ; and when he was Baptized, his God-mother, though no body else saw it, did see a Star that enlightened all the World ; and as he was in his Cradle, a swarm of Bees pitched on his Lips. And though from the Day of his Baptism until the Day of his Death, he is said never to have committed one mortal Sin ; he would nevertheless, before he was seven Years old, rise out of his costly Bed, for his Parents were said to have been very rich, and lye upon the Ground. When he was a Boy he would never play, nor use any Pastimes ; and when he

he came to be a Man he gave all that had been left him by his Father, besides his Books, among the Poor, and when he had nothing else to give, the Poor had his Books likewise. And having one Day seen a Woman crying bitterly for her Brother's being made a Captive by the *Moors*, he begged of her to take him, and sell him to those Infidels, and to redeem her Brother with the Money she had for him ; but, to his great Mortification the Woman would not do it. When he was at his Study, having borrowed some Books I suppose, the Devil did pester him very much in the shape of a Flea, leaping on his Book so, that he could not read for him ; at last, being much provoked, he fixed him on the Place where he left off reading, and for a considerable time he made use of him in that Shape, to find that Place presently. But having at last released the Devil from that Post, he appeared to him in his Study in the shape of a Monkey, and did by skipping off and on his Book, and by making apish Faces and Grimaces at him, disturb him much more than he did before; he did therefore, to spoil his Monkey Tricks and Sport, command him to take his Candle out of his Candlestick, and hold it to him; the Monkey did so, and he made him hold it till it was burnt down to his Foot; the Monkey did then make a horrid squaling, but he made him hold it until it was burnt out, and, which it was not
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in a pretty while after, it had burnt him to the Bone.

Having gone into *France* with the Bishop of *Osma*, of whose Church he was a Canon, though by preaching and working Miracles, he converted the *Albigenses* about *Thoulouse* by thousands in a Day; he did nevertheless animate *Simon de Monfort*, who was General of the Pope's *Cruzado* against those Christians; by which *Monfort*, and his *Cruzado*, to which *Dominick* was the chief Chaplain, many thousands of those poor Christians were massacred. That part of *France* must necessarily have been very populous at that time, else there could not have been so many of those Christians left for *Monfort* to murder, after *Dominick* had made such prodigious Conversions amongst them; for to be sure *Monfort* would not touch any of his Converts. The greatest Conversion that ever was made by *Dominick*, was after he had the Rosary given him by the blessed Virgin; whose Vertues *Dominick* published with all the Strains of his Eloquence, and with great Success: However, there was one so desperate it seems, as to laugh both at the Rosary, and at *Dominick's* Mountebank Rhetorick upon its Vertues; but he was soon after punished for it; by a great many Devils having entered into him. So he was carried by his Friends to *Dominick* for help, and he, before a vast Congregation, having pity on the *Demoniack*,
though

though he did not deserve it at his Hands, did charge the Devils, for by the Noise they made, he perceived there was a great many of them, to return true Answers to all the Questions he should put to them.

Dominick's first Question to them was, How they came to enter into that Man, and how many they were in Number? After terrible Howlings the Devils made answer, That it was for his having spoke against the Rosary, and laugh'd and made a May-game of his Sermons; and that they were in Number just 15000, and that they had been forced much against their Wills to go into one, who might have done them great Service.

Dominick's Second Question to them was, Why they were so many as 15000? They answered, Because there are fifteen Decads in the Rosary, which he had derided.

Dominick's Third Question to them was, Why they had suffered that Man to be brought to him? The Devils roared out all together, That it had been done to their great Confusion, but that they could not hinder it.

Dominick's Fourth Question to them was, Whether all that he had said of the Vertues of the Rosary was not true? After more terrible yellings than they had ever made before, they all howled out, Cursed be the Hour in which we entered into this Statue! Woe be to us for ever! Why did we not suffocate him before he was brought hither? But it is now too late

late, and we cannot do it, for thou holdest us in burning Flames, and in chains of Fire, so that we are forced to declare the Truth to thee, to our own great Prejudice. O yes ! know all Christian Men and Women, That this cruel Dominick, this implacable Enemy of ours, has never said one Word concerning the Vertues of the Rosary, that is not most true ; and know ye further, That if you do not believe him, great Calamities will besal you.

Dominick's Fifth Question to them was, *Who was the Man in the World the Devil hated the most ?* To this they all answered presently, *Thou art the very Man, who by thy Prayers, and by thy severe ways of Penance, and by thy Sermons has shewed the way to Paradise to every Body ; and has snatched our Prey from us. But know thou, that our Dark Congregation, and Infernal Troop, are so inrag'd against thee, that a Brigade of the strongest and most mischievous Spirits have a Commission to fall upon thee and thine without Mercy.* Here Dominick turned to the People and said, *God forbid, O Christians ! that you should believe all that is said by the Devils, who are Lyars, and Inventers of Lyes. Not but that the Almighty is able to communicate so much strength to the most Miserable and Vile Sinner, as will overcome all the Infernal Hosts, as you see I do at this time, who am the greatest of all Sinners.* At these words the Devils did all burst out, and cry'd, *Cursed be so great Humility as this, which tears and torments us so much.*

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Here *Dominick* throwing his Stole, for he had not his Scapulary yet, which has much more Vertue, about the Neck of the *Demoniack*, he ask'd the Devils, *Of which State of Men among Christians there were the most Damned?* A new and singular thing hapned, *Dominick's* Stole had no sooner touched the *Demoniack's* Neck, than a great quantity of thick gory Blood did burst out at his Nose, and of a poysonous Clay out of his Ears: At that Sight *Dominick* commanded the Devils to give over tormenting that poor Sinner; the Devils answer'd, *That they would do it with all their Heart, if he would let them go.* He said, *They should not stir until they had given him an Answer to the Question he had asked them.* They said, *In Hell there were great Numbers of Bishops and Princes of both Sexes, but not many Country-People, who though they are not perfect, yet are not so great Sinners. They had likewise a great many Merchants and Townsmen, who were sent to them for their Covetousness, Cheating, and Voluptuousness.* Here the Devils stopt, until *Dominick* asked them *Whether there were any Priests or Monasticks in Hell?* They answer'd, *They had great Numbers of Priests but no Monasticks, but such as had transgressed the Rule of their Order.* *Dominick* understanding this of his own Friars, asked them, *How it was with the Franciscans?* They answered, *Alas! Alas! we have not one of them yet, but we do hope to have great Numbers*

bers of them, when their Devotion is a little cooled.

Dominick's next Question to them was, *Who was the Saint in Heaven the Devil feared the most?* Instead of returning any Answer to this, they begged Dominick by all that was Sacred, *To be satisfy'd with the Torments he had given them, and the Torments they were condemned to in Hell, and not to give them the Torment of returning a true Answer to that Question, before so great a Congregation, to the ruin of their Kingdom;* telling him, *That if he would ask the Angels they would tell him who it was.* Dominick, who whatever other Vertues he had, had little Mercy in his Nature, said, *He would make them tell him;* and perceiving how unwilling they were to do it, he threw himself down upon the Ground, and went to work with his *Rosary*: Upon which, a strange Scene opened, great flames of Fire having burst out at the *Demoniack's* Nose, Mouth, and Ears; after that above an hundred Angels all in golden Armour, did appear, and in the midst of them the blessed Virgin, with a Rod of Gold in her Hand; and who having given the *Demoniack* a Switch with it, she commanded the Devils to return a true Answer to the Question Dominick had put to them: They all roared out, *O our Enemy, O our Damner! O our Confusion! Why didst thou come down from Heaven to torment us here? Why art thou so powerful an Interces-*
for

for for Sinners? O thou most certain and secure way to Heaven; but since thou commandest it, we must tell the Truth, tho' it will confound us, and bring Woe and Misery on our Princes of Darknes for ever.

Hear, O Christians! said the Devils, this Mother of Christ is too powerful in preserving all her Servants from Hell; it is she, that, as a Sun, dissipates all our Darknes, and enervates and brings to naught all our Machinations: We are forced to confess, that no Body is Damned that perseveres in her Holy Worship, and is devoted to her: One Sigh from her has more power than the Prayers of all the Saints; and we fear her more than all the Citizens of Paradise: And you must all know, that vast Numbers of Christians are, contrary to Right, saved by calling upon her at the Hour of their Death: And we should long ago have destroyed the Church, if it had not been for this little Mary; and being forced to it, we must own, That none that persevere in the Exercise of the Rosary, can undergo the Eternal Torments of Hell, for she obtains Contrition for all her Devout Servants.

This Dialogue being ended, Dominick with a loud Voice did exhort the Congregation to join with him in reciting the Rosary; and behold a great Miracle, at every Angelical Salutation, a multitude of Devils did rush out of the *Demoniack* in the shape of burning Coals: And the blessed Virgin having given

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the Congregation her Blessing, disappeared. The *Demoniack* was dispossessed, and many of the Congregation were Converted, and did devote themselves to the *Rosary*. It is very much that they all did not, having heard so much in its Commendation, and seen the wonderful Effects that it had. And since they were now certain, that the Man of the World the Devil hated the most was *Dominick*, he must be the Man in the World likewise, that they loved and revered above all others. And for the Bishops, Princes of both Sexes, and Priests, what they had heard, could not but very much abate their Reverence for them, and encrease it for Monasticks.

This was not the only Dialogue *Dominick* had with the Devil, but I shall relate no more of them, but only observe, that his having conversed so much with the Devil might be one Reason of his being so Inhumane, as we shall see anon he was, having first taken notice of some of his Monkish Vertues.

Dominick had always desired to dye no other Death but that of a Martyr, and he is said to have been once pretty near it; for having been met alone by some of the *Albigenses*, they assaulted him, with an Intention to have killed him. *Dominick* told them, *He had one Favour to beg of them?* And they having asked him what that was, he answered, *That you would kill me by Piece-meal; cutting*
off

off both my Arms first, and showing them to me; and digging out both my Eyes next; (it is not said they were to be shewed him) and having after that cut off both my Legs, I intreat you to give my Body as many Wounds as it can receive. But so spiteful were the *Albigenses* against him, that rather than gratifie him, they chose to leave him in a whole Skin, as they found him. *Dominick* did eat very little, and slept less, and did every Night bestow three lusty Whippings upon himself. In his Devotions he was frequently raised off the Ground high up into the Air: And tho' it was not known until after he was dead, he had long wore an Iron-chain girt so close about his Body, that it had eat into his Flesh. He was so humble, that tho' there was no need of it, he would go begging about from Door to Door. And being asked why he spent much more of his time at *Carcazona*, than at *Tholouse*, he said the only Reason was, *Because he was despised and railed at in the former, and much Reverenced in the latter.*

It would have been well both for *Dominick* himself, and for the whole World, if he had encreas'd his Merits, by spending his whole time in such Monkish Exercises; tho' he had joyn'd to them his *Preaching*, *Rosary*, and *Scapulary*; and not have pushed on *Monfort* and his *Cruzado*, to have butcher'd so many thousands of his Auditors, because they would not be converted by him, nor have gleaned after

him, to have burnt so many of them as an Inquisitor. It was *Dominick* that did first put the erecting that inhumane Office into the Pope's Head, and who for having been the first Projector, had for a long time the Patent of it from the Pope for himself and his Order. The Bishops, who before were the Judges of Heresie, being represented by him as an Order of Men no ways fit for that great Trust. *Dominick* had the Spirit of that Calling to Perfection; for *Monfort*, after he had with his *Cruzado* entirely subdued the *Albigenses*, having given over killing them, not being willing, it is like, to depopulate his Conquests, *Dominick*, as the Pope's Inquisitor, did go to work with them, and after the great *Cruzado Massacres*, had such large Gleanings, that in one Day he burnt 300 of them alive in *Tholouse*: *Paulus Æmelius* saith, they were 400, and who rather than turn Papists, were so forward to embrace the Flames, that by the Inquisitors they are said to have thrown themselves into them, and as this was the first Inquisition Act of Faith, so *Paramus* an Inquisitor saith, *It was the most glorious that ever was Celebrated.*

At *Cassares*, *Dominick* soon after burnt 60 *Albigenses* alive in one Day; and at a Place but a little way from it, he burnt 180 together alive; and who, tho' they were all offered their Lives when they were at the Fire, if they would turn Papists, did choose rather to

to be burnt; for which great Example, as well as for his having been the first Projector of their Office, singular Respects, as I have shewed in another Place, are paid to this Day by the Inquisition, to *Dominick* and his Friars.

I shall here leave it to any Impartial Man to judge, whether the greatest affected Monkish Appearances of an extraordinary Humility and Charity, are any Proofs at all of those two, or of any other Christian Vertue, being really in a Spirit, so Merciless and Inhumane?

The Fourth Order, under the Rule called *St. Austins*, is that of the *Hermites* of *St. Hierome*. It is not called by that ancient Name for that Father's having instituted it, but because he appeared to its Founder, and did offer himself to be God-father to his New Order. It was instituted in *Spain* by one *Peter Fernandes*, and some other Monkish Gentlemen, about the Year 1370, near *Lupiaria*, where its Mother-Monastery stands. Their Habit, to the best of my Remembrance, is much like that of the *Dominicans*; and tho' they were instituted, and are called *Hermites*, yet they have long had two Rich and Sumptuous Monasteries in the Neighbourhood of the two Courts of *Castile* and *Portugal*; the Monastery of the *Escuriel* belongs to this Order, and that of *Bethlehem* by the River *Tagus*, in whose magnificent Church the Kings

of *Portugal* are buried. There is an Order of Monks likewise in *Italy*, who are called by *St. Hierome's* Name, and tho' much Pains has been taken to incorporate them into one Order with that in *Spain*; on both sides such a stiffness in some little Differences has appear'd, that it could never be done.

The Fifth Order under this Rule, is that of the *Servites*. It is said to have been instituted soon after the *Dominican*, by some Noble *Italians*, called by a Voice from Heaven to retire to a Desert Place. They are called *Servites* for their having devoted themselves to the Service of the blessed Virgin. It is said to have 300 Monasteries of Men, and 30 of Women, and to have about a 1000 Friars.

The Sixth Order under this Rule, is that of the *Jesuiti* of *St. Hierome*. It was instituted by one *Johannes Columbinus* of *Sienna*, and was confirmed by *Urban* the Vth in the Year 1467. Its Habit is a square Coule, a white Coat, and a brown Cloak over it. Its Monks are all Laymen, and so have no Quire, but do meet together at Divine Offices, in the same manner that other Laicks meet at them; and do sustain themselves by their bodily Labour; and for that Reason, do more resemble the ancient Monks, than any other Order of Monks in the *Roman Church*. It has 33 Monasteries, and about 600 Monks in them,

them. There are two Orders more of Monks in *Italy* under the Name of *St. Hierome*, one of them was instituted by *Peter Pisanus*, which has sixty four Monasteries, and in them about 800 Monks; the other is called the Order of *St. Hierome* in *Fesulanis*, and which is said to have 40 Monasteries.

The Seventh Order under this Rule is that of the *Crucigeri*, who are positive that their Order was instituted by *Cletus*, the third Bishop of *Rome*, to whom they say an Angel appeared with a Cross in his Hand, and bid him build an Hospital in *Rome* to entertain the Pilgrims that came thither in Devotion; and which is the Business of the *Crucigeri*, of whom I shall only say, that they do seldom suffer the Pilgrims that come to them, to surfeit themselves, with what they eat or drink in their Monasteries; which were formerly an hundred and eight, but are now but fifty five, and they are reckoned to be about three hundred in Number; their Habit is Blew, and they always carry a Cross in their Hand.

The Eighth Order under this Rule is the *Boni Jesu*, it was instituted about the Year 1504, its Mother Monastery is in the City of *Ravenna*.

The Ninth Order under this Rule is the *Trinitarian*, which its Friars say was instituted by Heaven; an Angel having appeared to *In-*

Innocent the Third with his Hands a-cross, exchanging a *Moor* for a Christian Captive, and that upon that Vision it was confirmed by *Innocent*; its Friars Business is to collect Alms for the Redemption of Christian Captives, and to go or send into *Barbary* to ransom them. Their Habit is white, and they do wear a great Cross upon their Breasts, but in *Barbary* they wear neither the one nor the other, and it is to be wished that the poor Christian Captives there, don't suffer by their Almoners building for themselves so many stately Convents.

The Tenth Order under this Rule is that of the Hermits of *St. Austin*: They will needs have their Order, and their Rule too, to be the Work of that Father; whereas in truth, they were instituted after the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, having been by *Innocent* the Fourth made up of all the Hermits dispersed over the *West*, who before were under no Rule; and who having put them all under the Rule of *St. Austin*, did call their Order by that Father's Name; it is a very numerous Order, and tho' a Mendicant, is I believe very Rich, at least it has Magnificent Monasteries, and whose Churches are richly adorned.

The Eleventh Order under this Rule, is that of the *Theatines*. It was Instituted in the Year 1525, by *Peter Caraffa* Archbishop of *Theatine*, and *Marcellus Cajetanus* a Papal Protonotary; and for that Reason its Friars are

are in some Places called *Theatines*, in other Places *Cajetans*; they are regular Clergy, and their Habit, as well as the Jesuits, is much the same with that of the secular Priests, *Caraffa* their Founder was afterwards chose Pope, and took the Name of *Paul* the Fourth; and who having been always looked on as a Man of a most heavenly Mind, and of an austere course of Life, the City of *Rome* was put into a terrible Fright, when his Election was first published; apprehending that he would certainly retrench, at least all the Pompous Expences of the Papal Dignity; but they were soon undeceived by that Pope, who having been asked by his *Major Domo* the Night after his Election, after what manner he and his Nephews did intend to live? He answered him short, *How should we live but as Princes*: And so they did, no Pope ever lived more sumptuously.

The Twelfth Order under this Rule is that of the *Oratorians*. It was first Instituted in the Year 1575 by *Philip Neri*, they are all likewise regular Priests, and in the Year 1673, there was an Order much like to it, Instituted in *France*, and which has spread it self very much over all that Kingdom.

The Thirteenth Order of Friars under this Rule, is the *Paulistæ*. There are two Sorts of them; the one has its Name from *Paul* the *Hermit*, the other from *St. Paul* the Apostle; neither of them hath any thing singular, that is considerable.

The

The last Order under this Rule is that of *St. Anthony*, for the entertaining of poor Strangers; but its Monasteries are so filled with Friars, that besides a hard Lodging, they have nothing to spare.

I come now to take notice of the Military Orders which are under the Rule called *St. Austin's*.

The First is that of the Knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, where that Order was first Instituted. But having been driven from thence by the *Saracens*, they settled themselves in the *Island of Rhodes*, and from that *Island* were called the Knights of *Rhodes*. And having been chased from thence likewise by the *Turks*, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth did bestow the *Island of Maltha* upon them, of which *Island* their Grand-Master is Sovereign Prince, and from it they are now called the Knights of *Maltha*; they have great Estates, and do all take the three Monastick Vows: Their Habit is like that of other Soldiers, only they do wear a Cross at their Breast, and a large white Cross upon their Cloak.

The Second Military Order, is that of the Knights of *St. James* in *Spain*, who do take only the Vow of Conjugal Chastity, and so may marry with the Licence of their Master, who was so Rich and Powerful, that the King of *Spain*, with the Pope's Leave, has lodged that great Office in himself; and does appoint a Deputy, who has the Title of *Commendador Major*,

Major. But though at first this Order was Instituted only for Soldiers, who are by Sea and Land to fight against all the Enemies of the Christian Faith, it is now conferred on all sorts of People, that have Friends or Interest enough to procure it.

The Knights of the Militia Orders of *Calatrava*, and *Alcantara* in *Spain*, and of the Orders of *Christ*, of *St. James*, and of *Avis* in *Portugal*, do all take the Vow of Conjugal Chastity only; and as to the Vow of Poverty which they do all likewise take, that is so mollify'd by useful Distinctions, that it is no Hindrance at all to their making use of the Profits arising to them from their several Orders, in the same manner as they would have done if they had never taken any such Vow. These Orders have all rich Convents belonging to them, and a great many considerable Ecclesiastical Benefices, their Convents are all filled with Clerks, who are no less of their several Orders than the Knights themselves, and who do wear the Cross of their Order either at their Breast, or upon their Cloaks. These Military Clerks are bound to attend the Masters of their Orders, or the Knights which are sent by them to fight against the Infidels, as their Chaplains, and Confessors, and among them all the Ecclesiastical Benefices which do belong to their Orders are distributed but for the Wars; the Knights of *Malitha* only excepted,
none

none of the other Military Knights, nor their Military Chaplains neither do trouble themselves, for being obliged to go to them by their Order.

The *Theutonic* is, I believe, much the same Order with that of *Malta*, and which was once exceedingly Rich.

The Last Military Order under this Rule is that of *St. Lazarus*. It was Instituted to take care of the Sick, but chiefly of Lepers; its Knights do take only the Oath of Conjugal Chastity. In *Savoy* this Order was Incorporated with that of *St. Mauritius*, and the Duke of *Savoy* is its Master; its Knights do wear a green Cross on their Cloaks, darting out Rays. I am mistaken if this Order of *St. Lazarus*, was not some Years ago dissolved by the *French* King, who bestowed all its Lands on the splendid Hospital of the *Invalids*, but whether that was done with the Pope's Leave or not, I cannot tell.

These Military Orders were first instituted by Princes, and who bestowed great Lands upon them; but the Popes, according to their Custom, to bring them all under an immediate Dependence upon them; did by robbing the Parochial Clergy, and bestowing their great Tithes upon those Military Orders, bring them under the three Monastick Vows, and by that means made them their Subjects.

The Third Monastick Rule in the *Roman* Church is that of St. *Francis* of *Assisi*. All sort of Property is strictly forbid by this Rule, and its Friars are all commanded to go Bare-footed, and Bare-legged, and not to ride, unless their Health requires it, and never to touch any Money. Their Habit is a brown course sort of Stuff with a Coul, and they have all a Cord tyed round their Waste, and are from that commonly called the *Cordeliers*; the *Capuchine* Habit has large Patches sowed into it, when it was first made, no Monastick Habit is believed to have so much Vertue in it as the *Franciscan*, and for that Reason in *Lisbon*, there is not one in an hundred, that can go to the Price, that is not buried in that Habit.

This Rule, though it still continues the same, was of no long standing before its Rigour was much mollify'd by Papal Relaxations: *Innocent* the Fourth having relaxed it so far as to allow of a Property in its Communities; which great Relaxation, though it was thankfully embraced by most of the *Franciscan* Convents, some did stand out, and would not accept of it, declaring they would, according to their Vows, observe the Rule in its rigour. Out of this Division two Families arose in that Order, they that made use of that Papal Relaxation, being called the *Conventuals*, and they that rejected it were called *de Observantia*, and the latter valuing them-

themselves much upon their strict Adherence to their Rule, and especially after that Adherence, in its greatest rigour was confirmed by Pope *Nicholas* the Fourth, they did become so mutinous against *John* the twenty Second, upon his having condemned what his Predecessor had approved of, that that Pope was once very near having dissolved their Order.

This hot Controversie betwixt the Pope and the *Franciscans de Observantia*, concerning their Property, in the Goods which they consumed in using them; does at first sight seem to have something in it that is very singular; which is, that both Parties in that Dispute, did seem to act against their own Interest. The Friars being for lodging the whole Property in all they had or used in the Pope, and the Pope for lodging that Property in the Friars. But whoever will look to the bottom of that Matter, will perceive, that in Interest neither the one nor the other was concerned in the Decision of that Question. For whereas the Pope, if that Property had been lodg'd wholly in him, could not, without starving the Friars, have been one Farthing the richer for it. So in reality to the Friars it was the same thing, whether the name of that Property was in the Pope or themselves, since however that was, they would still have the Use and Consumption of all that they got by begging. And as such
 sort

sort of Controversies are always Fruitful, so out of this another did arise, which was long hotly Disputed : It was, whether Christ and his Apostles had any Property in any sort of Goods. But after the heat of these Controversies was pretty well over, the Friars *De Observantia* came likewise to have some Papal Relaxations; with which some of their Brethren being much offended, they refus'd to make use of them, and out of this Schism, two Families of Friars more did arise, the one is called the *Clarins*, and the other called the *Capuchins*, which was instituted by one *Francis Puchine*. These two last Families do observe their Rule with more strictness than either of the former; going bare-legg'd, and some of them bare-footed, tho' most of them do wear Sandals. They do beg about the Streets with a Wallet over their Shoulder; and their loud cry in *Lisbon*, is, *An Alms for the sake of St. Anthony*. Their Alms is commonly a Two-penny white Loaf, and which is given them upon a Salver or Plate, with a clean Napkin upon it, upon the Knee, and the Friar when he has received it, gravely holds forth his Sleeve to the giver of it to kiss; and happy is the Servant that can have the carrying of that Alms to them. But the way of Begging which is common to all the *Franciscans*, and by which they are chiefly supported, is by sending their Friars by Couples with an Ass or a Mule, all over the Country,

try, in the Harvest time, to beg Wheat, and in time of the Vintage to beg Wine, and in the time when the Oil is made to beg Oil; and which being carried to their Convents, are laid up in Store in them. And whereas the *Franciscans* are by much the most numerous of all the Monastick Orders, they, and several other Mendicant Friars are an incredible Burden upon the Farmers, who are kept very poor by them, for they will not be deny'd: Indeed I once saw a Couple deny'd, and that very roughly; but it was not by a Farmer, but by a *Dominican* Friar, who was looking after the making of Wine for his Convent, who sent them and their Mule a packing from his Wine-press; with telling them very roughly, *The Dominicans were Mendicants as well as the Franciscans.* And I was once told by a Farmer, after he had given a considerable Quantity of Wine to a Couple of them, that the *Termo de Lisboa*, which is not so large as one of our Counties, had no fewer than 10000 of those Mouths to maintain out of its Products. And tho' there are too many bold and sturdy Beggars in all Parts, they are all modest Creatures in Comparison of the Begging Friars.

'Till *Leo* the Tenth's Time, the *Conventuals*, and the *De Observantia*, were all under the same General, and who was chose by the *Conventuals*. But by that Pope, the Seal of the Order was taken from them, and was given

given to the *Observantia's*, with a Power to choose their own Superiour, and who is chose by them to this Day, with the Title of *General Minister*; and by him the *Conventuals* were likewise allowed a Power to choose their Superiour, and which they do still with the Title of *General Master*. All the fore-mentioned Disputes betwixt the several Families in the *Franciscan* Order, were only Controversies about Words, being really nothing else but Monkish Affectations of the Name of a great Poverty. For those that were for that Poverty in its utmost Rigour, do make the same Use of their Alms, and with as little Disturbance as the others do, who say they have a Property in them.

Of all the Monastick Orders, the *Franciscan* is by much the most numerous. Above an 100 Years ago, the Friars *De Observantia* had 2203 Convents, and in them 30696 Friars: And at the same time the *Capuchines* had 662 Convents, and 6600 Friars in them; and whose Numbers of Convents and Friars are undoubtedly much greater at this time. For if they can have but a little Ground given them any where, by the help of a pretended Vision or Miracle, they will run up a Convent upon it presently, throwing the Friars they put into it upon the Country to be maintain'd. I have never seen any List of the Number of *Conventuals* and *Clarin* Convents and Friars; but one cannot but

guess them to be so many as will make up above 60000 *Franciscan* Friars; and who, notwithstanding their Poverty, are commonly jolly well-look'd Men, and much plumper than the Laity. And to give the *Franciscans* their due, that *Fastus*, and supercilious Fierceness which is so visible in most of the *Dominicans*, does not appear in them; as indeed it did not in their Founder; poor *Francis*, of whom I come now to give some Account, appearing by what we are told of him, to have been a weak harmless Enthusiast; whereas *Dominick* appears to have been a Man of Design, with a great measure of Pride, and of Fierceness in his Nature.

Francis was born in *Assisi*, a City in *Italy*, in the Year 1182. His Father was a rich Merchant; and he, having bred *Francis* to his own Profession, trusted him with his Cash, which *Francis* spent at a most profuse Rate, in Feasting and in Gaming, and upon Lewd Women. At the Age of 25, he was thrown into a Jayl, for having been in a Skirmish, which was betwixt the loose young Fellows of *Assisi*, and those of *Perosa*: He lay in a Jayl a Year, but was never the better for it, having as soon as he was at Liberty, return'd to his former wild Courses, and in which he continued, until a full stop was put to his Career in them by a dangerous Fit of Sickness; for having been very near Dying, he did resolve if he recovered, to lead a new Life;

Life; and he did so, but which, in its way, had its Extravagancies as well as his former Course of Life: For having the first Time he went abroad, happened to meet with a Beggar all in Rags, he changed Cloaths with him; and the Night after, as he was asleep in his Rags, in a Vision he saw a large Room full of Riches, and of the most glorious Jewels he had ever seen before; his Mind having run much after them, he heard a Voice, saying, *These Jewels are for my Soldiers, who shall take the Cross upon their Shoulders and follow me.* Francis, after he was awake, having still an aching Tooth after the rich Jewels which he had seen, did resolve to go a Soldier in the *Crusado*, which at that time was ready to march to the Holy Land, believing those to be the Soldiers on whom those rich Jewels were to be bestowed. But after he had been at the Charge and Trouble of buying a good Horse, Arms, and all other Military Accoutrements, a Voice within him told him, That was not to be the Warfare that he was to be employed in. Upon that, as if he had fled from his Colours, he ran into a Desert, where he hid himself for some Days in a Cave, whipping himself all the time most unmercifully for his past Sins. After he returned to *Assisi*, the *Crusado* being gone its like, as he was one Day at his Devotions before a Crucifix in St. *Damian's* Church, he heard a Voice saying to him, *Francis, look*

on my Church, and repair it, for it is ready to tumble down. Francis understanding this of the Church he was in, which was much out of Repair, he went home, and not being trusted any longer with his Father's Cash, he sold a considerable Quantity of his Father's Goods for ready Money, and having carried it in a Bag to St. Damian's, he bid the Curate take that Bag of Money, and repair his Church with it. The Curate said, *He would not touch it, for he knew it to be his Father's Money, who was both a very covetous, and a very passionate Man.* However, Francis threw the Bag of Money down upon the Ground, and went to his Devotions. But before they were ended, his Father having heard what he had done, and that he was gone with a Bag of Money under his Arm to St. Damian's Church, he went after him; and having met with the Curate, he asked him with his Eyes full of Fury, where his Son was? The Curate answered, *He had been there, but he believed he was gone; for Francis had hid himself when he first heard his Father's Voice.* He asked the Curate, *Where the Bag of Money was which he had brought?* The Curate carried him to it, and he took it up and went home with it, threatening what he would do to his Son whenever he met with him. He was no sooner gone, than Francis sallied out of the Church, running about the Streets bellowing, and with all the other Actions and

and Motions of a Man that was distracted. His Father having heard of it, went after him, and having come up with him, he drove him before him as a Disgrace to his Family; and that he might be no more so in publick, he did shut him up in a close dark Room, with an Intention to have kept him there until he came to himself. But *Francis's* Mother, who is said to have been a much better Woman, than his Father was a Man, having, when her Husband was abroad, taken an Opportunity to visit *Francis*, after she had exhorted him not to spend his Father's Money, nor to disgrace his Family by running about the Streets like a Fool, or a Madman, she did let him out of his Prison. But before his Father was returned home, *Francis* had given his Mother the slip, and hid himself so that she could not hear where he was. Her Husband, when he came home, was very angry with her for what she had done; and having received Intelligence where his Son was, he went to him, and promised, *Never to have any thing more to do with him, if he would go with him presently to the Bishop, and before him make a Renunciation of the Inheritance which belonged to him as his eldest Son.* *Francis*, overjoyed with the Proposition, went with him to the Bishop; and having before him made a solemn Renunciation of his Patrimony, he stript himself naked, and throwing his Cloaths, Shirt and all, to his Father, he said,

Hitherto I have called you Father, but hereafter I will own no other Father, but my Father which is in Heaven. The Bishop called to his Servants to bring some Cloaths presently to cover *Francis's* Nakedness ; and they having brought in an old threadbare Cloak, *Francis* covered himself with it, and having sallied out immediately from the Bishop and his Father, he did run full speed through the City and the Suburbs, and threw himself into the Hospital of the Lepers. And though in the Days of his Vanity, *Francis* had been so squeamish, that the Sight of a Leper would have set him a Vomiting, he did now tend and dress them with so much Pleasure, that a Leper appeared to him to be an Angel, and his Sores appeared to be Brilliant Diamonds. But *Francis* quickly lost this grateful Employment, by his having taken so much Pleasure in it, a Voice having said to him, *Francis, if thou wouldst please me, thou must change sweet Things for bitter.* Upon this Call, *Francis* left his sweet Hospital in a bitter snowy Season, and did, as he was going Singing to *Eugubium*, meet with a Crew of bitter Rogues, who asked him who he was? *Francis* having answered, *That he was the Cryer of the Great King* ; they were so insensd, that they threw him into a deep Pit, full of Snow, and left him in it to have perished ; but having, after they were gone, made a shift to crawl out of the deep Pit, he
went

went on Singing as before to *Eugubium*. It was in a good Hour for that City that *Francis* came to it at that Time, for if he had not, they would not have had a Cow nor a Sheep left : A most hideous Wolf, which had destroyed the greatest Part of them already, having taken up his Residence in the Neighbourhood. *Francis*, as soon as he came into that City, having been acquainted with the miserable Condition it was in, did offer if the Magistrates would appoint him to be their Plenipotentiary, to go out and treat with the Wolf ; and having obtained a Commission from them for that Purpose, he walked out to him. The Wolf, when he saw *Francis*, was so far from falling upon him, or from running away, that he came up to him after a very courteous manner : And *Francis*, to gain the more upon him, having called him *Brother*, asked him, *Why he destroyed so many Cattle ?* Brother Wolf did, by one way or another, for we are not told how it was, give *Francis* to understand, *That he must have starved if he had not done it, and that that was not reasonable.* *Francis* granted that it was not, and so did in the Name of the whole City, offer to supply him every Day with as much as it was convenient for him to eat, if he would promise never to destroy any more of their Cattel. Brother Wolf having gladly accepted of the Proposition, a Peace was concluded betwixt him

and the City of *Eugubium*; and which was, as long as the Wolf lived, sacredly observed by both Parties; *Francis* being the Guarantee of it.

Francis, who from the Day of his Conversion, had always made use of a Stone for his Pillow, being once much troubled with the Head-ach, he was over perswaded to make use of a Pillow of Feathers; but his Head was no sooner laid upon that soft Pillow, than the Devils began to make such a Variety of Noises in it, that *Francis* was not able to sleep a wink all Night for them, in the Morning betimes he called a Brother to him, and desired him to take that noisy Pillow from under his Head, and to carry it a great way from his Cell; his Brother obeyed him, but it had like to have cost him dear; for before he had got so far with the Pillow, as he intended to have carried it, the Use of all his Limbs was taken from him: But *Francis* knowing in Spirit how it was with him, did by a Prayer restore the Use of his Limbs; and from that Day soft Pillows were looked on by *Francis* as the Receptacles of Evil Spirits.

Amongst an hundred other Things it came into *Francis's* Head, that the *Sultan* of *Egypt* was to be converted by him to the Christian Faith; and tho' he knew that to be a very dangerous Enterprize, yet his Head was so full of it, that he could not rest until it
was

was done. And being got into *Egypt*, and having by one Means or another obtained an Audience of the *Sultan*, he importuned him vehemently to forsake the *Mahometan*, and embrace the Christian Faith. When he found that both his Importunities and Arguments were thrown away upon that Emperor, he did offer, if any *Mahometan* would go into a Fire, to accompany him into it, if the *Sultan* would promise to turn Christian, if the Fire burnt the *Mahometan*, but did not hurt him: But no *Mahometan* having had the Zeal to accept of his Challenge, he did offer to go alone into the greatest Fire that could be made, if the *Sultan* would promise, if it did not burn him, for to turn Christian. But the *Sultan* would make *Francis* no such Promise, but commanded him forthwith to leave *Egypt*; *Francis* obeyed him, and returned to *Italy*, where he found Wolves more tractable than *Mahometans*, and I do no where read of *Francis's* ever having had any more such dangerous Impulses.

A *Quaker's* having gone from *England* to *Rome* to convert the Pope to his Religion, is a mighty Jest with some People, who are very much edify'd with this Story of *Francis's* going from *Italy* to *Egypt* to convert the *Sultan*: But these two Adventures do to me appear to be so much alike, that I shall leave it to Anatomists to tell, whether good Wits that jump thus, have not their Brains either
much

much of the same Size, or much in the same Posture.

Being returned to *Italy*, *Francis* hid himself for some Time in a Cave, where as he was once disciplining himself most unmercifully for his having had no better Success in *Egypt* it is like, he heard one call *Francis, Francis*, and having returned no Answer because he would not interrupt his whipping. The same Voice said aloud, *God will be merciful to all Sinners that turn to him, except it be to those who kill themselves with severe Penances, to whom God will never shew any Mercy.* *Francis* not knowing certainly whether this Voice came from Heaven or Hell, did begin to have some Misgivings about the Lawfulness of Whipping himself as he had done for a long time; but having, whilst he was in this Quandary, been violently invaded by a Carnal Temptation: By that he plainly discovered, that it was the Devil that had spoke to him; and being now certain of that, he went to work with his Whip again, and which was all his Days after the dearer to him, for his having at the Devil's Instigation had some Misgivings about its Lawfulness. However, on this Occasion it stood him in no stead, for the more he lashed himself, the Temptation grew the stronger; he therefore threw away his Discipline, and having thrown away all his Cloaths too, he went out of his Cave, and for a considerable Time did

rowl

rowl about stark-naked in the Snow ; and being grown weary of rowling his Body, he went to rowling of Snow-balls ; He made one huge Snow-ball, and four lesser, and two lesser than them, which he marshalled in the Figure of a Circle ; and having placed himself stark-naked in the Center of them, he said to his Body, *See, that great Creature is thy Wife, and the four lesser are thy two Sons and thy two Daughters, and the two least are thy two Servants ; thou must work very hard to feed and cloath them all, for they are all ready to be starved, and to die with Cold ; or thou must otherwise think of being chaste, and that will save thee all those Pains.* This notable Stratagem of *Francis's* had more Power than his Whip and the Snow put together, for his Body was so terrify'd with what he had said to it about working hard, that it presently shook off that Temptation, neither did it ever return any more with the like force.

An hundred more such Monkish Adventures are by *Francis's* best Friends reported of him, but I shall name only one more, which of all his others, is the most admired : It was, That two Years before his Death, *Francis* had all the Wounds of our Blessed Saviour given by him to the same Part of *Francis's* Body ; and which Wounds, if we may believe Pope *Gregory* the IXth, were both seen and touched by *Clara*, the famous Foundress of the Nuns, who are called by her Name ;
and

and that *Clara* in this Case might be a Witness beyond Exception, she her self is said to have been taken up several times and nailed to a Cross, on which, and after she came off it, she endured great Tortures, but was comforted afterwards by the blessed Virgin's giving her her Breast to suck, and whose Milk agreed so well with her, that *Clara*, tho' she took little or nothing besides, did grow fat with it.

This Prerogative of the Wounds, as the *Franciscans* call it, and do value themselves upon it extreamly, has long been a Matter of great Envy to the *Dominicans*, who have often attempted to have had it communicated to some Persons of their Order, but in vain, by reason of the *Franciscans* watchful Jealousie over this Prerogative.

In the Case of the famous Nun in *Lisbon*, of whom I have elsewhere given a large Account, the *Dominicans* were very near having had it: The plain Detection of which Imposture, does very much discredit all Monastick Testimonies, in Cases where the Piety of the Intention may be reckoned to sanctifie their Falshood.

The Order of the *Minims*, is, I suppose, under the *Franciscan* Rule, its Founder *Francis de Paula*, having been commanded by *Francis de Azezi*, to make a Church, which he was building, larger than he intended. This *Francis de Paula* was an *Italian*, and
lived

lived in the 15th Century ; his Life is as true a Legend as ever was written. If the Friars called in *Portugal* the *Pauliste* are the *Minims*, as I believe they are, their Habit is of a dark Colour ; and who, not many Years ago, made a great Noise with a Miracle which was wrought in their Convent in *Lisbon* : The Design was to have got the Miracle-working Image for that City, to their Convent. But whatever the Matter was, it did not pass the Inquisitors, and for that Reason did not take Place presently ; however they comforted themselves with saying, *That such Testimonies of its Truth might come from the Brazeels, or from the East-Indies, as would put it out of all doubt with the Inquisitors, and with every Body else ; what had been wrought in their Convent, tho' it was miraculous, having been only in order to the Working of a more important Miracle somewhere else.*

I lived over-right this Convent when the News of that Miracle, which was, the Candles and Lamps before the Image of our Lady *de Atoche*, having lighted themselves, whilst the Sexton was in the Church Tolling the *Ave-Mary* Bell ; did first bolt out of a sudden ; it ran thro' the City like Wild-fire, and before Morning had drawn a great Part of the City to its Church ; the Streets having been all Night crowded with People going to it, and coming from it ; and who
were

were all so fully convinced of the Truth of that Miracle, that happy was the Person that could have a Drop of the Oil that was in the Lamp when they lighted themselves. One of the *English* Envoy's Foot-men, who had one of those Friars for his Confessor, did, by his Means, get a Drop of it upon his Handkerchief; and being much troubled with sore Eyes, he had rubbed them with that Oil; but tho' by watching all Night, and by making use of a Medicine naturally so improper, his Eyes next Morning look'd worse than ever they had done; yet so great was his Faith, or the Strength of Imagination, that he did stand in it, they were perfectly cured, and that he saw better than ever he had seen before. The Truth of this Miracle was so universally believed, that it was thought the Inquisitors would hardly dare delay Confirming it by their Approbation: They did nevertheless delay it, and by a single Order at once put a full Stop to that Torrent of Devotion; their Reasons were only known to themselves; but there is one thing that every Body knows, which is, that the settling of the Fame of the present Miracle-working Image upon a Convent, is the bestowing of great Wealth upon it. No wonder therefore if the Inquisitors will not be put upon, in the disposing of so great an Advantage: And the Truth is, the Design and the Managery of the

the Friars in that Business were so visible, that they must be Stone Superstition Blind, that did not see them both plainly.

The Fourth Monastick Rule in the *Roman Church*, is that called *St. Basil's*, by whom its Friars, who are only the *Carmelites*, will not have their Order to have been instituted; and they are much in the right, for it was not instituted in a great many hundreds of Years after that Father's Death: But they will have their Order to have been first instituted upon *Mount Carmel*, by the Prophet *Elias*, and which having in process of Time much degenerated, they will have *John the Baptist* to have restored it. But notwithstanding this its Pretence to a remote Antiquity, and to an extraordinary Founder and Restorer, the *Carmelite* Friars, are the last of the Four *Mendicant* Orders in the Church of *Rome*, and are in all general Processions forced to give Place to the *Dominican*, *Franciscan*, and *Austin*. Now considering the great Emulations among the Monasticks, since they have three Vows, is it not a pity that they had not a Fourth, to wit, a Vow of *Humility* as well as of *Poverty*, which if it were observed, would ease them of such troublesome Emulations; there being no Families Noble or Royal, more anxious to advance their Antiquities, or that do make use of more indirect Means for that purpose, than some Monastick Families are, and for no other End but to help themselves

to a Right of Precedency, how justly soever it may be deny'd them.

This Rule is very strict, but has, as well as the rest, been long made easie by Papal Relaxations : And the Truth is, the *Carthusians* and *Capuchins* being excepted, in Practice, there is but very little difference, as to strictness, among the Monastick Orders, and the greater Strictness of the *Carthusians*, is chiefly in their Claufure ; and that of the *Capuchins* in going Bare-leg'd, and which in warm Countries is no very great Rigour, tho' they were not used to it from their Childhood : So that generally speaking, they that are not Monasticks, but are very devout in the *Roman Church*, are by their Superstition made to lead more austere Lives than the generality of the Monasticks do with their strict Rules and Vows.

The *Carmelites* are numerous, and have a great many magnificent Convents and Churches, and which do not all stand on desert Mountains, if any of them do, but either within, or in the Neighbourhood of great Cities and Towns ; only that their Situation may something resemble Mount *Carmel*, they do commonly stand upon the highest Ground in such Places. Their Habit is brown, and is believed to have great Vertue in it, and for that Reason several are buried in that Habit. And, if the *Franciscan* has not the same Privilege, I do very much
won-

wonder, why all Papists are not buried in the *Carmelite*, since the uncontrollable Turn-key of Purgatory has declared, that none shall be forced into his Prison, that is buried in that Habit.

There is a Monastick Order in *France* called the *Grandimontan*, that seems not to be under any of the forementioned Rules, but to be governed by its own Statutes. This Order was Instituted about the Year 1080, by one *Stephen*, who having hid himself in the Desert of *Muretum in Aquitain*; was not long there before the Fame of his Austerities being sent abroad, had brought Company enough about him; and as in such Visits People do not often go without Money, so in a short time *Stephen* had got enough to build a Monastery in the Place where his Cave was, and to maintain the Monks he put into it, who, while *Stephen* lived were never molested; but after his Death some *Austin* Monks that lived near, said the Ground on which their Monastery stood belonged to them, and did threaten to turn *Stephen's* Monks out of it; and who not being able to contend with such powerful Adversaries, they went all together to Prayer for Direction what to do; and did all whilst they were together in that Exercise, hear a Voice saying aloud, *Grandimonte, Grandimonte*, there being a Mountain not far off called by that Name: Having thus got a divine Right to it, they removed their Monastery,

stery, and their Founder's Bones thither, and so have their Name from that Mountain, that was thus bestowed on them, by a Voice from Heaven. It was well for those Monks that neither the *Austins*, nor no other Monasticks had any Right to that Mountain; for if they had, tho' *Stephen's* Monks had sworn it, they would never have believed that they had heard any such Voice from Heaven, so far as to have parted with that Mountain to them; but some People in such Cases, are much easier of Belief than others, and there is a very good Reason for it.

In *Lisbon*, and its Suburbs; there are two Convents of Friars called *Loyans*, I suppose from St. *Eligius*, or St. *Oloio*: they are very rich, and their Habit is Blue; and if I be not much mistaken they are a Branch of the Canon Regulars.

There is likewise in that City a Convent of Friars, I have no where else seen or read of; they are *Discalceates*, and I think the same to the *Austin*, that the *Capuchins* are to the *Franciscan* Order. This Convent was founded by the late Queen Mother, and Regent of *Portugal*; and who, after the Administration of the Government was boisterously taken from her, by her Son *Don Alphonso*, retired to it and died in it, and there the Plot of laying *Don Alphonso* aside, and of advancing his younger Brother *Don Pedro* to the Throne, is said to have been hatch'd.

The

The last Monastick Order, if it may be called so, and which does now over-top all the rest, is that of the *Jesuits*; it is under none of the forementioned Rules, but is wholly governed by its own Statutes. It was Instituted about the Sixteenth Century, by *Ignatius Loyola* a *Spaniard*; it is of a mixt Nature, partly Clerical, and partly Monastical, but has most of the former; its Habit is much the same with that of the Secular Clergy: Its having taken to its self the Name of the *Society of Jesus*, gave great Offence at first; but that Name having been approved of by the Pope that confirmed it, *Jesuits* made no Account of what others thought of it: To this early Instance of that Arrogance, its Neighbours have since all complained of so much, a greater, and that was as early was added; which was its *Founder*, and the Pope by whom it was confirmed, having both plainly insinuated, its having been instituted by the immediate Inspiration, and Direction of the Holy Ghost.

But by what soever Direction this Society was instituted, the End for which it was erected, was to furnish the Papacy with a Guard of *Janisaries* to extirpate the Reformation if it was possible. And for this purpose to do it Justice, it was modelled exactly; not by *Loyola* in all probability, but by Brains more politicks, and better settled than his were: But he having the Reputation of an Enthusiast

and Visionary, that that Model might seem to have been the Work of an immediate Inspiration, they give him the Name of it, which politick Model I shall endeavour to set in a true Light.

This Society consists of three Families as it were, and who have all distinct Houses.

They are the *Novices*, the *Scholasticks*, and the *Professed*.

The *Novices* are two Years Probationers, and are kept under a very strict Discipline, and are sometimes imployed in the Kitchen, and in Hospitals, and in other servile Works. The Jesuits, by reason of their teaching Latin in their Colleges to all, or most of the Youths, have a mighty Advantage over all the other Orders; for by that means they come to know the Boys that have the best natural Parts, and are the most likely to prove wise Men or Scholars. They have also so many Arts to perswade the most pregnant Boys to be of their Society, that they do seldom fail to gain those they have once pitched upon; neither is their Friends being rich, or their having a fair prospect of an Estate, any Objection against their pitching on such Boys.

When the two Years of their Noviciate are expired, they are removed to the College, where they are called *Scholasticks*, and do forthwith take the three Monastick Vows, simply, but not solemnly. And in this Admission

mission into the Society, there is something that is very Singular; which is, that they who are admitted, are thereby obliged to spend all their Days in the Society, but the Society it self is at Liberty to dismiss them when it pleaseth : And as this is contrary to all the other Monastick Professions, so it has been by many arraigned, of being a very unjust Contract ; one Party being obliged by it, and the other not, but left at its Liberty.

The Houses of the Novices have Rents belonging to them, sufficient to maintain their Members, but the Wealth of the Society, is lodged entirely in the Colleges, in which the Scholasticks do stay many Years before they come to be professed ; and after that they leave the Colleges in many Places, and do remove to a House which is called *the House of the Professed*. These Houses have no Property in any thing, besides their Buildings, Furniture and Gardens. The Professed being all Mendicants, but who do not beg either about the Streets or in the Country ; but do without making any noise, by one Art or another obtain yearly Pensions from the Owners of the Houses and Lands, which are in their Neighbourhood : And these Pensions, though they call them Alms, are paid more punctually than most Rents ; besides, the Professed do still continue to have so much Power in the Colleges, where the Property of all the

Wealth is, that tho' they received no Alms, it would be their own Fault if they were starved; nay in that Case, the Colleges are bound to maintain them; but that seldom or never happens, the Profess'd taking care to ease the Colleges, by throwing themselves upon others, to be maintained by them. The Profess'd do with all the other Orders, take the three Monastick Vows solemnly, which before they had took only simply, and are thereby perfectly incorporated into the Society; so that it is not in its Power to dismiss them.

To the Three common Monastick Vows, the professed Jesuits do add a Fourth, which is, *To go whithersoever the Pope shall send them, and without requiring any thing from the Pope towards a Maintenance*; and as this is a great ease to the Papacy, which is seldom or never at any Charge, on the Account of the remote Missions which it orders; so the great Charges of those Missions, do fall chiefly upon the Princes into whose Dominions in the *East* or *West Indies*, those Missions are sent, and who do stand the fairest to reap the greatest Profit by their good Success; as it was in the Cases of the great Missions of Jesuits sent into *Æthiopia*, which did cost the Crown of *Portugal* a great deal of Money.

It is not improbable, that the Colleges out of their great Wealth, may contribute at first,

first, something towards the Maintenance of those who are sent into Protestant Countries; but as they are seldom, or never sent into any of those Countries, unless there be a considerable Number of Papists in them; and for that Reason *Sweden* and *Denmark*, are never troubled with any such Missionaries: So those Papists must be very poor indeed, if the Jesuits that come among them don't squeeze a Livelihood out of them, to the easing of their Colleges; which they are always as covetous to enrich, as any *Jew* is to enrich himself.

This Society has two other sorts of Members in it, and which are both very useful, but chiefly the latter; they are called their *Spiritual, and Temporal Coadjutors*.

The Spiritual Coadjutors not being judged, after they have been long Scholasticks, and in holy Orders, sufficiently qualify'd to be employ'd as Missionaries; tho' they do take the three common Vows solemnly, and are perfectly incorporated into the Society, which the Scholasticks are not, yet they are not admitted to take the fourth Vow to the Pope; they are employed in the Houses of the Profess'd to say Masses, and to hear Confessions, and to do several other things whereby those Houses are helped to Alms, or rather Pensions: But they can never be chose Rectors of them, neither have they a Voice in the Election of the General of the Society; they

are likewise employed to officiate in the Houses of the Novices, and to teach them *Latin*. The Temporal Coadjutors do wear the Habit, and do take the three Vows, but are not in holy Orders; they are the Stewards, and Bailiffs of the Colleges, for their Estates and Rents, and in the way of Merchandize, their Factors, and some of the shrewdest that are perhaps in the World, and do not yield to the *Jews* themselves in any of the Latitudes of Commerce.

This Society having been erected on purpose to fight the Pope's Battels, not with Prayers and Tears, and Monastick Austerities, but with Learning, Policy and Address, its Members are not, by its Constitution, bound to have a Choir for the Performance of Divine Offices, neither have they one any where; nor are they bound to attend Processions, nor to use any of the Monastick Austerities, which would interrupt their Studies, or might render their Address less agreeable to all sorts of People; and for that Reason the other Orders will hardly allow the Jesuits to be Monasticks or Religious.

And whereas these Qualifications, tho' never so conspicuous might not, if they were not adorned and helped by great Riches, be able to do the Pope any great Service; the Society by its Constitution, did for that Reason set open a wide Door in its Vow of Poverty, for Wealth to flow in at; and which

it has done beyond what its first Projectors could reasonably have hoped ; of which, for its being one of the Depths of this Society, I shall take particular Notice.

The Builders of this Society being sensible, that unless it had the Name and Title of a Monastick and Mendicant Order, it would never be much revered by the People, with whom that Name carries in it a perfect Renunciation of the World ; they did for that Reason require all that were admitted into the Society, to take upon them the Vow of Poverty. But as Distinctions are things of a wonderful Benefit and Consolation to Monasticks, fetter'd with hard Rules and Vows ; so by the help of a very nice Distinction, to call it by the softest Name it can bear, this Vow of Poverty was taken so, as to be no Hindrance to the Society's growing Rich, and that by the Gifts of those who have taken that Vow : Which useful Distinction was, that at first they should not, with all other Monasticks take the Vow of Poverty Solemnly, but only Simply, and which being taken so, it should not render those that took it, incapable of having a Property, and Dominion over all Goods, which might come to them by Inheritance, or by any other way. But tho' their Property in all such Goods should be as entire as if they had never taken that Vow ; their Dominion, or Power of Disposing them, was by

by the Constitution of the Society, put under divers Limitations.

First, That they must not employ those Goods, or any Part of them, to their own private Use.

Secondly, That they must not give them, nor no Part of them to any of their Relations, as such.

Thirdly, That they must give them all to one pious Use or another.

Lastly, They must be advised by their Superiors, to whom they have taken an Oath of Obedience, how to dispose of them.

It is true, by their Constitution, they are not bound to give them, or any part of them to the Society, unless it should happen to want them, and which, if it were an hundred times richer than it is, it will always pretend it does : Wherefore until I shall have heard of a Jesuit's having given a considerable Quantity of any Goods, which have fallen to him, from the Society to some other Use, I shall still reckon this Power of theirs to dispose of all such Goods, under the fore-mentioned Limitations, to be in effect the very same to the Society, as if the Property and Dominion of all such Goods, were by an express Statute immediately lodged in it. Since
if

if there were such a Statute, the Society could not be more secure of those Goods than they are now ; and that without lying, in the Eye of the World, under the Reproach of grasping after great Wealth, by its very Constitution.

But since if this, as to private Property and Dominion over Goods, were the Case of all the Members of the Society, it could not be looked on as a Monastick Mendicant Order, a Way was found, let the Society be never so Rich, to help it to that Title ; which was that a few of its Scholasticks, after they have been many Years in the College, should take upon them the Vow of Poverty solemnly, so as to be rendred altogether incapable of a Property or Dominion over any Goods : And who on the Account of this Second Profession, are called the Profess'd ; and though they are but few in Number in Comparison of the others, as I shall shew anon ; yet that they might be sufficient to constitute the Society a Mendicant Order, they are, for this Second Profession, reckoned to be its only perfect Members, and they only have a Voice in the Election of its General. And as the Scholasticks are commonly well advanced in Years, before they take this solemn Vow of Poverty ; so it is not improbable, that few Scholasticks, whilst there is a likelihood of any Goods falling to them, by Inheritance, or by any other way, do ever take that Vow.

And

And if after that an Estate should unexpectedly fall to any of them, tho' I believe that seldom happens, the Right which the Law of the Land gives them to those Goods is probably managed so by their Temporal Coadjutors, that the Society seldom fails of them.

There is another Vow in the Society, which must needs be of great Advantage to it; it is, that if any of its Members are preferred to be Cardinals or Bishops, they shall in all Matters of Importance ask the Advice and Direction of the General, or of the other Prelates of the Society; by which Vow if they observe it, they are kept all their Days in a Dependence upon those Superiours.

By these and many more such Contrivances, the Jesuits tho' but of Yesterday, are richer than all the rest of the Monastick Mendicants put together: And that the Reader may see how fast Wealth did, by these commodious Channels in its Constitution, flow in upon the Society, I shall here set down a List of its Houses and Numbers, which was made within an hundred Years after it was first instituted.

In the Continent of *Italy*, the Society had at that time four Provinces, to wit, the *Roman*, the *Neopolitan*, the *Milaneze*, and the *Venetian*.

The *Roman* had in it, one Profess'd House, one

one Novice House, one Seminary, and 22 Colleges, in which were 740 Persons.

The *Neopolitan* had in it, two Profess'd Houses, two Novice Houses, two Residencies, and 17 Colleges, in which were 594 Persons.

The *Milanese* had in it, two Profess'd Houses, two Novice Houses, one Residency, and 10 Colleges, in which were 411 Persons.

The *Venetian* had in it, one Profess'd House, three Novice Houses, two Residencies, and 15 Colleges, in which were 373 Persons.

The *Sicilian* Province had in it, two Profess'd Houses, two Novice Houses, one Residency, and 16 Colleges, in which were 638 Persons.

The Island of *Sardinia* had in it, two Profess'd Houses, a Novice House, a Seminary, and 9 Colleges, in which were 190 Persons.

In *Spain* the Society had five Provinces, the *Toletan*, the *Castilian*, the *Aragonese*, the *Be-tick*, and the *Portuguese*.

The *Toletan* had in it, one Profess'd House, two Novice Houses, two Residencies, and 16 Colleges, in which were 570 Persons.

The *Castilian* had in it, one Profess'd House, one Novice House, one Residency, and 25 Colleges, in which were 613 Persons.

The *Aragonese* had in it, one Profess'd House, one Novice House, and 12 Colleges, in which were 390 Persons.

The

The *Betick* Province had in it, one Profess'd House, two Novice Houses, one Residency, and 20 Colleges, in which were 600 Persons.

The *Portuguese* had in it, two Profess'd Houses, one Novice House, four Residencies and 11 Colleges, in which were 680 Persons.

In *France* the Society had five Provinces, to wit, the *French*, the *Aquitain*, the *Lionese*, the *Tolozan*, and the *Champaign*.

The *French* had in it, one Profess'd House, two Novice Houses, two Residencies, and 9 Colleges, in which were 460 Persons.

The *Aquitain* had in it, one Novice House, two Residencies, and 7 Colleges, in which were 280 Persons.

The *Lionese* had in it, two Novice Houses, and 12 Colleges, in which were 470 Persons.

The *Tolozan* had in it, one Novice House, and ten Colleges, in which were 310 Persons.

The *Champaign* had in it, one Novice House, one Residency, and 8 Colleges, in which were 226 Persons.

In the *Netherlands* the Society had two Provinces, the *Flemish*, and *Gallobelgian*.

The *Flemish* had in it, one Profess'd House, two Novice Houses, two Residencies, and 12 Colleges, in which were 617 Persons.

The

The *Gallobelgian* had in it, two Novice Houses, one Seminary, two Residences, and 17 Colleges, in which were 652 Persons.

In *Germany* the Society had three Provinces, to wit, that of *Upper-Germany*, that of the *Rhine*, and that of *Austria*.

The *Upper-German* Province had in it, one Novice House, three Residences, and 13 Colleges, in which were 546 Persons.

The Province of the *Rhine* had in it, one Novice House, two Residences, and 20 Colleges, in which were 601 Persons.

The *Austrian* had in it, two Novice Houses, five Residences, and 18 Colleges, in which were 553 Persons.

In *Poland* the Society had two Provinces, the *Polonian*, and the *Lithuanian*.

The *Polonian* had one Profess'd House, one Novice House, and 9 Colleges, in which were 459 Persons.

The *Lithuanian* had in it, two Profess'd Houses, one Novice House, two Residences, and 10 Colleges, in which were 336 Persons:

In the *East-Indies* the Society had two Provinces, that of *Goa*, and that of *Malabar*.

The Province of *Goa* had in it, one Profess'd House, one Novice House, five Residences and 8 Colleges, in which were 280 Persons.

The *Malabar* had in it, one Novice House, one

one Seminary, 7 or 8 Residencies, and 10 Colleges, in which were 150 Persons.

In *Japan*, the Society had one Novice House, one Seminary, 13 Residencies, and four Colleges, in which were 130 Persons; these Houses are all destroyed.

In the *Philippin* Islands, the Society had one Novice House, six Residencies, and two Colleges, in which were 100 Persons.

In the *West-Indies*, the Society had four Provinces, that of *Peru*, that of *Paraguaviae*, that of *New Granada*, and that of *Mexico*.

That of *Peru* had in it, a Novice House, a Seminary, two Residencies, and 7 Colleges, in which were 370 Persons.

That of *Paraguaviae* had in it, two Residencies, and 7 Colleges, in which were 116 Persons.

That of *New Granada* had in it, a Novice House, a Seminary, two Residencies, and two Colleges, in which were 100 Persons.

That of *Mexico* had in it, one Profess'd House, three Residencies, and 10 Colleges, in which were 340 Persons.

The Province of *Brazil* had in it, 14 Residencies, and three Colleges, in which were 180 Persons.

The Institution, and prodigious Growth of this Society, to above 12000, in less than 100 Years, and the turning of the Council

cil of *Trent* against the Reformation, were the two Master-strokes of the Papal Policy. And though I don't think that the number of the Houses of the Society is much, if at all encreased, since the Year 1600, about which time the foregoing List was made; the great Veneration the Society was in at first, being by the Envy of the other Monasticks, who are all continually railing against the Jesuits, but chiefly by their Subtile and Griping Ways in all Places to get Power and Wealth, every where much abated; yet its Houses are much Larger and Richer than they were then, and its numbers of Persons much encreased.

The present great Support of the Society, after that of the singular Papal Favour, is, its furnishing all *Roman Catholick* Princes with Confessors, the King of *Spain* only excepted; who for the Honour the *Dominicans* did him, by making him their Founder's Kinsman, must have one of his Cousin's Order for his Confessor.

Whether it was by its extraordinary Address, or by its known Latitude in Casuistical Divinity, that the Society has, to the Exclusion of all others, thus engrossed to its self these High and Beneficial Posts, I shall leave to the Judgment of Men that are well acquainted with the Measures and Methods in *Roman Catholick* Courts.

Ignatius Loyola, the Founder of the *Jesuites*, was born in *Guipuscoa* in *Biscay*, in the

Year 1491; his Father was a Gentleman, and had fourteen Children, of which *Ignatius* was the Youngest.

When *Ignatius*, who is not said to have had any Miraculous Successes in his Infancy, or whilst he was a Boy, was come to be a Man, being full of the Ambition of his Poor Country, in which all the Natives do look upon themselves as Gentlemen, and don't despair of being able to raise themselves to the degree of *Grandeess*, tho' few of them have arriv'd at it. And not knowing at that time of any way in which he would be so likely to aggrandize his Name, which was his Idol, as in that of Arms; he went into the Army, and having been in *Pomplona*, when it was Besieged by the *French*, in the Year 1521, he had his Right-leg broken, and his Left shatter'd by a Cannon Bullet; and being made a Prisoner, the *French* used him very kindly, and set him at Liberty as soon as his Wounds were Cured. But being told when he returned to *Biscay*, that his Bones were so ill Set, that if they were not broken and set again, he would be a Cripple all his Days; he chose to undergo that painful Operation, rather than be disabled by Lameness to pursue the Fame he thirsted after so much. Whilst he was confined to his Bed, he desired the People of the House to let him have a Book to pass away his Time. Instead of a Romance, which was the Book he desired, the *Flos Sanctorum* was put into

into his Hand, which, but in another way, is the greatest Romance that ever was written. But *Ignatius*, though he was not at all pleased with that Book when he saw what it was, there not being a Military Vice or Vanity to which he was not at that time addicted; nevertheless since he could have no other, he began to look into it; he had not read far in that Book, before, to his great Admiration, he plainly discovered, that there was a way of attaining to great Fame, that was both more effectual, and less dangerous than that of Arms: None of the Ancient Great Captains being so famous in History, nor had any of them their Valiant Actions so Universally Read and Admired, as the Persons were whose Lives were writ in that Book. Whereupon he did resolve to pursue Honour, and an Immortal Name in that Way. And instead of returning to the Army as soon as his Leg was well, he did resolve to go in a Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, intending to take *Monserate* in his way, there to prepare himself for that Expedition. As soon as he was able to Ride, he mounted his Mule, but in the Accoutrements of a Soldier, and not in those of a Pilgrim, and carrying his Martial Spirit, as well as his Sword and Dagger with him, he had killed a *Morisco* he happened to overtake, for having spoke dishonourably of the blessed Virgin, if he had not lost his Way as he pursued that Infidel. Being come to *Mon-*

ferrate, he spent some Days there in Confession, and in Penances; and having given his Cloaths, which were very Rich, to a poor Man, he wrapped himself in a Plad of Sack-Cloth, which reached down to the Ground, and girt it about him with a Cord. And whereas his Right-leg did still swell at Nights, he put a Shoe made of small Wickers upon his Right-Foot, but for his Left-Foot, he would allow it no Shoe, because it did not want one so much. Being thus accoutred with a Plad, and one Shoe, it came into his Head, That it was the Custom of all Knight-Errants, on the Vigil of their Installation into that Heroick Order, to watch all Night in their Arms in one Church or another; so he resolved in imitation of those Cavaliers, to use the same Ceremony: And not having it seems parted with his Sword and Dagger when he gave away his Military Cloaths, he went with them, and with a Battoon in his Hand, and watched all Night in a Church before the Image of the Blessed Virgin; and having in the Morning made a Vow of Chastity, he hung up his Sword and Dagger before that Image, to remain a Memorial of his having Dedicated himself to be the Blessed Virgin's Knight-Errant all his Days. By this we see, that *Don Quixot* knew what he said, when for the Honour of Cavalry he told *Sancho* his Squire, *That not a few of the Roman Saints had been Cavalero's Andantes;*
or

or at least are represented as such by the Writers of their Lives.

The first Place *Ignatius* repaired to in quest of Adventures, after he had taken upon him that Profession, with all the usual Solemnities, was *Monrese*, a Town three Leagues from *Monferate*, where having taken his Post in the Hospital, in Imitation of the ancient Knight-Errants, he did eat very little, and did sleep less, and did lie upon the cold Ground; neither did he comb his Hair, nor pare his Nails, nor do any thing to himself that looked like Cleanliness; under which strict Regiment, together with his Hair-cloath Plad, Rope, and single Shoe, he made so sad a Figure, that the *Cavallero de tristi Figura* himself, did not make a worse.

He had not been long under this Discipline before he began to have Visions; his first was a most splendid Spectre in the Air, which darted out abundance of Beams of various Lights, that were extreamly delightful to him; but those pleasant Lights had dark Effects, having raised Thoughts in his Mind, which said to him, *Wretched Ignatius, by what evil Spirit wert thou driven out of thy own Country, and Family, from thy honourable Relations and Acquaintance, to wallow here in Nastiness among the Dregs of the People.* But though at first he was not much displeased with those Words, yet having recollected

himself a little, he perceived by their Tendency, from whom they came; and by the Humility of running in among the Beggars, and Converſing with them more familiarly than he had done before, he did repel that Temptation. But the Enemy was not long diverted, and having returned, ſaid to him again, *Forlorn Ignatius, canſt thou at theſe Tears imagine that thou ſhalt be able to perſevere in this aſtere Courſe until thou are 70, for ſo long thou art to live.* On this Occaſion he repelled the Enemy, only by ſaying to him, but with great Diſdain, *Canſt thou add one Day to my Life?* The Enemy finding that *Ignatius* was not to be diſcouraged, he changed his Weapon, and told him, he could not think that he had mortified himſelf ſufficiently for ſo great a Sinner as he had been. Theſe Words brought ſuch a dark Cloud of Deſpair over his Thought, that he had thrown himſelf down headlong out of a high Window in the *Dominican* Convent, if it had not come into his Mind, that he had read of an ancient *Anchorite*, who had faſted away his Deſpair: So inſtead of breaking his Neck for a Cure, he reſolved not to eat nor drink any more until it was over; he faſted Seven whole Days, and whole Nights; without taking any manner of bodily Suſtenance, and would have gone on with that ſtrict Faſt, if his Confeſſor had not threatned to deny him the Communion, if he did not give it over. *Ignatius*

durſt

durst not disobey him, and so did take some Refreshment, and was quiet after it. But this was only a Cessation, for on the third Day the Enemy returned again, and conquered him so far, that he came to a full Resolution to give over his present loathsome Course of Life, and return to the World: And so hot he was upon that Change, that he had certainly made it, if he had not plainly discovered this to be a Strategem of the Enemy, whom he defeated by a firm Purpose as to Confession, never to remember the Blots of his past Life any more.

Ignatius being after this in perfect Peace, as he was one Day walking by a River's Side, he found his Mind on a sudden wonderfully enlightened, so that in a Moment, without the Assistance of a School-master, he beheld in a curious Looking-Glass not only all the Mysteries of Faith, but all the subtil Questions, and Degrees of the Philosophers; but having gone to a Cross that stood near, to return Thanks for this prodigious Stock of Knowledge and Learning, he had come by so easily, and in so short a Time, his former Spectre had the Impudence to appear to him again; but being near a Cross, it was much less resplendent than it was before: By the Help of his present profound Knowledge and Learning, he at first Sight knew it to be the Enemy, and was so far from being affected with it as he was before; that without say-

ing a Word to it, he did with great Disdain thresh it so with a Cudgel he had in his Hand, that it vanished away, and did never venture to appear to him any more. He had soon after so clear a Vision of the Trinity, that he saw the God-head plainly in three Persons, and in one Essence; and whilst the Print of it was fresh upon his Mind, he writ a Book upon the Trinity.

Now there never having been any such Book published that I can hear of, seems to be a shrew'd Evidence either of no such Book's having ever been written, or of it not having been so extraordinary, as to be a plain Proof of its Author's prodigious Learning, or of his having seen its Subject distinctly in a Vision. In another Vision, he saw the whole Model by which the World was created; and in another an ocular Demonstration of the Truth of Transubstantiation, but he is not said to have let any Cut of the former, nor to have writ any Book upon the latter. He had likewise frequent Extasies, in one of which he lay so quiet from the Completory of one *Saturday*, to the Completory of the next; that being looked on by every Body as dead, he had been buried in that Extasy, if one by chance had not found his Heart beat a little: His Fervors in Devotion were likewise so strong, that he was sometimes raised by them five Cubits off the Croud.

The Fame of these Spectres, Visions, Extasies and Raptures, having been spread all over the Country, People flocked from all Parts to see, and to hear him; and he finding himself so much admired, he washed his Face, and combed his Hair, and pared his Nails, and gave over much of his former Nastiness, that he might not appear loathsome to those that came to see him. But as we shall see hereafter, he soon returned to his meritorious Nastiness again. But his being so much admired, had a worse Effect upon him than something of Cleanliness, for he found his old Passion of *Vain-glory* rising in him again, and to mortify it wholly, if that was ever done, did cost him much Trouble.

But whether it was or not, his Head was now full of beginning his Journey to *Jerusalem*, not with the common low Intention of other Pilgrims, only to visit the holy Places; but with an Heroick Resolution of Converting the *Turks*, which was a Province worthy of his Visions, and great Abilities. And having to that End gone to *Barcelona* to embark there for *Italy*, he had the good Fortune to find a Ship there ready to sail for *Cajeta*, and having met with the Master, he desired him to give a Beggar his Passage. The Master said he would, if he will find himself in Bread; but *Ignatius* judging it not to be consistent with the Poverty, he resolved to live in all his Days, would not agree to that;
and

and so would have lost his Passage, if one that he confessed himself to, had not told him, that that was not inconsistent with the strictest Poverty. So being satisfied of its being lawful for him to provide Bread for himself, he went from Door to Door to beg Money to buy him Bisket. And having soon got more than enough, to buy as much as the Master reckoned would be sufficient, he left the overplus of the Money upon the Shore, when he embarked with his Bisket: He was but Five Days at Sea, which, if the unbelieving Master had pleased, he could have passed very well without any Bread; and without having met with any Adventure in that Voyage, was set a Shore at *Cajeta*. He met with a Lodging the first Night, in which he did much good upon some rude Soldiers that were quartered in it; but the Plague being very hot in *Italy* at that Time, no Town or Village afterwards would, by Reason of his looking as if he had the Plague upon him, suffer him to come in to them; so he was forced to travel from *Cajeta* to *Rome*, without meeting with a Lodging any where, or any Sort of Sustenance. He was quite spent and famished when he came to *Rome*, where after having recruited himself a little, he was for pursuing his Expedition; but the News having come to *Rome* at that time of the *Island* of *Rhodes* being taken by the *Turks*; some of his Country Men would fain have persuaded

swaded him to have adjourned it to a safer Time, not knowing that to convert the *Turks* was his Business at *Jerusalem*. But tho' they could not perswade him to do that, they prevailed with him to take some Money, telling him, he would find no Doors in *Syria* to beg at ; but his Money and he kept not long together, for being very much disturbed at his having distrusted Providence so far as to carry Money about him, he had it in his Hand to have thrown it away with Indignation ; but having some Wit in his Anger, he doubted whether that would not be a Prodigality, and for that Reason he kept his troublesome Money, until he met with some Beggars, and distributed it all among them.

The Difficulties he met with in this Journey, were greater than those in the Former, for he was not only kept out of all Towns and Villages, and so could not all the way have either Meat or Lodging ; but the whole Country was so affrighted, that the Cry of the Country was, that he was not a Man but a Savage Monster, and all the People were afraid to come near him ; however being sustained by Visions, he got to *Padua*, and from *Padua* he went to *Venice*, where tho' they were very strict at that time about the *Health*, they did suffer him to come into the City without asking him a Question, notwithstanding his morbisick Look. And having

ving obtained leave of the Duke to go aboard a Ship which was bound for *Cyprus*, the Sailors, for his having reprov'd them severely for their Lewdness, conspired to set him ashore on an *Island* where there were no People; and they had done it, if they had not been hindred by contrary Winds from coming near that Desert *Island*. Being got safe to *Jerusalem*, he visited all the Holy Places before he said a Word to any body of his having come thither to convert the *Turks*; but the time for the Pilgrims to depart drawing near, he went to the Guardian of the *Franciscan* Convent, and acquainted him with the Work he came into *Syria* to do: The Guardian told him, the Provincial would return from *Bethlehem* some Days before the Pilgrims did set out, and that he must speak to him to have Leave to stay behind them. The Guardian spoke this so softly, that *Ignatius* not doubting but that he should have Leave to stay, did write Letters, which were to be sent by the Pilgrims, to all his Friends in *Europe*. But having, when the Provincial was returned, gone to him to ask Leave, and acquainted him with his Purpose of Converting the *Turks*, the Provincial commended his Zeal very much, but said, that was no proper time to go about that great Work; and *Ignatius* having persisted in desiring Leave to remain at *Jerusalem* that he might go about it, the Provincial told him, that

several,

several, who out of a good Zeal had lately set about that Work, had been either slain or made Slaves by the *Turks*; and that it had cost the Convent great Sums of Money to ransom some of those Preachers out of the Gallies: But *Ignatius* not doubting, tho' others had miscarried, that he should succeed in that Enterprize, said, if he might but have Leave to stay he would venture that: The Provincial seeing nothing else would do, told *Ignatius* plainly that he had Power from the Pope to excommunicate all that stay'd in *Jerusalem* without his Leave, and which he was resolved not to let him have.

Ignatius, who was the Pope's most humble Slave, after he heard that said, he would not fail to return to *Europe* with the Pilgrims; however the Morning before the Pilgrims were to depart, it having come into *Ignatius's* Head, that he had not observed *Mount Olivet* sufficiently, without saying a Word to any body, and without taking a *Turk* for his Guard, for he had no Money to hire one, he ascended that Mountain all alone, and having spent some time upon it in his Devotions, he forgot to make one Observation which he intended to make; it was, to which Part of the Heavens the right Foot-step was, and to which the left; but having thought of it before he got to the City, he went up the Hill again to understand how that was.

Whilst

Whilst *Ignatius* was thus employ'd, the Pilgrims, which were to depart having been all brought together, and no *Ignatius* appearing among them, the Provincial concluded he had hid himself on purpose to be left behind; he therefore commanded an *Armenian*, who was a Servant in the Convent, to go and find him out and bring him along with him. Of so dogged a Nature was that *Armenian*, that tho' he met *Ignatius* coming back, he did fall upon him first with ill Words, and afterwards with dry Blows, to *Ignatius's* great Joy in that Place, and did with his Club drive him before him as if he had been an Ass, until he had brought him in among the Pilgrims.

The Day after this drubbing, a Discipline most Knight-Errants have met with at one time or another, *Ignatius*, as if he had been no better than an idle Saunterer to *Jerusalem*, only to see the Place, was packed away with the rest of the Pilgrims, before he had done any thing in the grand Affair which had brought him thither, having never spoke so much as one Word to any *Turk* to convert him; however he comforted himself with Hopes of Returning again to that his great Province, and of being able to adorn it. And having with the rest of the Pilgrims got safe to the *Island* of *Cyprus*, they found three Ships there ready to sail for *Italy*, one was a *Turkish*, which would have been odd at any time,

time, but was the more so at this, for the War they were in with the *Venetians*; the other Two did belong to *Venice*, one of them was a large stout Ship, the other was old and small. The Pilgrims having bargained with the Master of the great Ship for their Passage, they intreated him to carry *Ignatius* for nothing, who, tho' he was a Beggar, they said was a very great Saint: The surly Master said he would not carry him, neither did he, if he was so great a Saint, stand in need of a Ship, since he might foot it over the Sea, as many Saints had done.

But *Ignatius* not thinking himself Saint enough to venture on that, since none of the Pilgrims were so charitable, or so desirous of his Company as to pay for his Passage, he was forced to embark upon the small old Vessel; and it was well for that Ship that he did, for the *Turkish* Ship was in their Sight cast away in a great Storm soon after they had weighed their Anchors, and the great *Venetian* Ship was in the same Storm dashed to Pieces against Rocks; but *Ignatius's* small rotten Vessel, tho' very much torn and leaky, got safe to *Apulia*, from whence *Ignatius* went to *Venice* most miserably Weather-beaten, by Reason of his having been half naked all the Voyage, tho' it had froze and snowed hard all the Way: But having, when he came to *Venice*, met with a Country Man, he was kindly entertained by him for
some

some Days, and who at parting having offered him a Purse of Money, *Ignatius* being now better reconciled to that, than he was before he went into *Syria*, he accepted of it, and of a Piece of Cloth likewise to cover his Stomach.

Ignatius's Money did burn in his Purse, until he was got to *Ferrara*, but as poor as he looked, a Beggar having come to him there to beg an Alms of him, he gave him a piece of Money; and that Beggar having sent other Beggars after him, before Night they had not left him a Farthing in his Purse; so he was forced to go about the Street to beg Bread for himself; and having been met by some of the Beggars he gave Money to, they did cry him up as the greatest Saint that had ever come into *Ferrara*. *Ignatius* not being at all pleased with those loud Applauses, did leave that City, and the sooner it is like on their Account, and steered his Course towards *Genoa*, with an Intention to return to *Spain*.

Italy being at that time all in a Flame with the War, which was in it betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *French*, *Ignatius's* Friends advised him not to travel in the great Roads, in which he would be sure to meet with Soldiers, but to take the bye Ways; they that gave *Ignatius* that Advice either did not know the Profession he had taken upon himself, or they did not know that the first Obligation of that

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Profession is never to do any thing, in which there is any Appearance of the want of Courage: And for that Reason *Ignatius* flighted their Advice, and went into the most publick Road; in which he had not travelled long, before he fell into the Hands of some *Spanish* Soldiers, who taking him for a Spy in a strange Disguise, they carried him to their Quarters, and searched all his Rags for Letters: And having met with none, they asked him what Intelligence he carried, threatening to carry him before their General if he did not discover it to them, *Ignatius* said *he was no Spy; and that if they would but give him a Rag to cover his Nakedness, he did not care before whom they carried him.* They granted him that, and tho' they drove him naked before them, and the Soldiers as he passed by them, did all shout and hout at him, he rejoiced exceedingly, until he came to the Door of the General's Quarters, where he was in a great Perplexity how he should carry himself before that great Man. For you must know, that having before his Conversion been as guilty as any Man of Complements, and of all the other Elegancies of Good-breeding; he was come to detest them so, that he had resolved, no not with Princes, ever to use them any more. However, being at this time in a great Quandary, whether it would not be convenient for him to lay aside his affected great Clownishness, and

to resume his Natural Civility and Good-breeding : After having revolved that Matter over and over in his Mind, he did positively resolve not to do it, and that for no other Reason but because it would look as if he was afraid of the Face of Man. And having accordingly, when he was brought before the General, neither taken off his Cap, nor bowed his Body, the General asked him, *If he was not a Spy?* Ignatius, without any civil Preface to it, answered him, *I am not* ; which were all the Words the General could draw from him : And who looking upon him as a Mad-man, did threaten the Soldiers to punish them for having troubled him with so loathsome a Sight ; so he bid them drive him out, and let him go where he would. The Soldiers were so enraged with Ignatius for their General's being angry with them upon his account, that they did all fall upon him unmercifully, beating and kicking him in the Face and Sides until he was half dead : This was the worst Adventure Ignatius had ever met with in all his Perambulations, but it is probable it did him some good ; for after this we hear no more of the Quakerism, or affected Rusticity of his outward Man ; but for the Quakerism of his inward Man, and for his Heroick Valour called Fool-hardiness, by those that are no nice Judges of Honour, this, nor nothing else but Death could ever cure him of them : For notwithstanding

standing all the ill Usage he had met with for having kept the publick Road, and that he did know certainly that if he went on in it he should, before he got to *Genoa*, meet the *French* Soldiers, whom he might have avoided if he had gone but a little way about; yet rather than incur the Dishonour of being so great a Coward, as out of Fear of them to break the way to an Army, he went on in it, and having been, as before, apprehended as a Spy by some *French* Soldiers, he was carried by them to their General to be examined by him; but that General and his Soldiers were all so civil to him, that he travelled through their whole Army without having either a Blow or an hard Name given him. The Reason perhaps of the *French's* being so much civiller to him than the *Spaniards*, might be the *Spaniards* having taught him a little Good-breeding, or at least having made him grow weary of his affected Clownishness, before he came up to the *French*.

Having thus forced his way through two great Armies, *Ignatius* entred *Genoa* Triumphantly, though almost quite naked; and having there met with a Ship bound for *Barcelona*, he embarked upon her, and did narrowly escape being taken by a *Turkish* Pirate.

Being now in his own Country again, and intending to stay in it, he was at a very great

loss how to dispose of himself: His first Intention was to turn Monk, and to have planted himself in a Monastery, whose Discipline was much relaxed, on purpose to reform it; but the narrow Bounds of a Monastery appearing to him, upon second Thoughts, to be a Theatre infinitely too little, for one of his Capacities, he resolved to have the whole World for his Theatre; And to qualifie himself yet farther to act his Part upon it with Honour: The first Step that he made upon that Stage, if he had been of any other Profession, would have been extreamly surprizing; for can any thing be more so, than to have one who understood all the Mysteries of Faith, all the little subtile Questions and Decrees of the Philosophers throughly, and who had also writ an admirable Book upon one of the greatest of those Mysteries, and had farther seen the Original Model of the Creation, and had gone to *Jerusalem* upon his judging himself to be able to convert all the *Turks*; at the Age of 33 to go to School and sit among the Boys of the lowest Form, to learn his Accidence. But in Men of his Profession nothing is wondered at, unless it be for being common and ordinary with other People.

But how consistent, or inconsistent soever *Ignatius's* going to School was, with what has been said before of him; there being a good *Latin* School at that time in *Barcelona*, he did

did put himself to it ; and not knowing one Word of *Latin*, he sat in the Form with the little Boys who were learning their Accidence. But though in the School he followed his Book very close ; and unless it were when he made Excursions to preach, did never play Truant ; he was not able to master the difficult Inflections of the Verbs and Nouns. There were several visible Causes of his being so great a Dunce at his Book ; one great one was, his Head being so full of Speculations and Visions, that there was little Room in it for any thing else : Another was, his going from Door to Door to beg all the Bread that he did Eat : And a third was, His Excursions to Preach to the People. His Mind was also much diverted from his Book by the Enemy, who at this time furnished it with great Lights, and did lay many Mysteries open before it.

But as dull as *Ignatius* was at his Accidence, he was so nice a Discerner of Spirits, that he soon understood from whom all those Lights did come : and to repel them and the Enemy that furnished him with them, he earnestly entreated his Schoolmaster, whose Name was *Ardelabo*, to meet him at a certain Hour, at a certain Church : *Ardelabo*, though he was it is like grown weary of Teaching so great a Blocked so long for nothing, was so kind as to meet *Ignatius* there, and who having before he said a Word to his Schoolmaster, thrown

himself down at his Feet, he earnestly begged of him, *That he would suffer him to come to his School for two Tears, or for a longer time, if it should be found necessary; beseeching him farther, Always to exact the same Task from him; as he did from the Boys that were in his Form; and if at any time he found him Sloathful, for to Correct him in the same manner that he did the Boys that were so.* Ignatius had two great Benefits from this Submission, the great Humility that shined in it, having chased away the Enemy, and all his Lights with him; and his Schoolmaster was so much affected with it, that he did promise to do for him all that he had desired.

After this, *Ignatius* went on better with his Book than he did before, and having been advised to read a Book of *Erasmus's*, which would be a great help to him in his *Latin*, he had read but a little way in it, before he began to find the Spirit of Devotion to cool in him, so he threw it away, and would never look any more in any of that Author's Books, and did afterwards prohibit all the Members of his Society, ever to look any more in any of them. When he went first to School, he left off his Sackcloth, and did not spend so much time in Devotion, and in Disciplining himself as he had spent before; his Cloaths were nevertheless very coarse, and that the Shoes he wore might not appear to have any thing of Ostentation in them, which would not have looked

looked well in one that begged his Bread from Door to Door, he bored their Soles full of Holes, so that tho' he did seem to wear Shoes, he did in effect go bare-footed in Frost and Snow. We are not told how long he stay'd at the *Latin* School in *Barcelona*; but having been told by a Learned Man, that he had *Latin* enough to go to the University, tho' he did not think so himself, yet rather than put an Affront upon so Learned a Man's Judgment, he did leave the School, and having got four Companions of his own Stamp, he went with them to the University of *Complutum*, and did there according to his Custom, take up his Quarters in the Hospital; and having begun the Study of the Arts, he soon found they agreed worse with his hot Head, which could not dwell long upon any thing, than the Inflections of the Verbs and Nouns; leaping so fast from one thing to another, that he was never likely to know any of them otherwise than confusedly and superficially. His Studies here had all the same Hindrances which they had when he went to School, and his Heat after Preaching was grown so ungovernable, that he was almost continually Preaching about the Streets. The effects his Sermons had on the Minds of his Auditors were of so Enthusiastical a Strain, that many did suspect him of being a Conjuror, and which having been observed by the watchful Inquisitors, they had an Enquiry

made very secretly into his, and his Companions Lives and Doctrins; and which Enquiry being committed to the Arch-deacon of *Toledo*, all that he did upon it at Present was to require *Ignatius*, and his four Companions, not to wear the same sort of Cloaths, nor of the same Colour, as if they were about to set up a new Sect. But *Ignatius* having gone on Preaching still, to the visible Prejudice of his Freshman's Studies, he was within four Months brought under a Second Inquisition, by reason of a Lady, and her Daughter, who were his constant Auditors, having taken a Figgery in their Heads, to go on-foot, and visit all the Hospitals in *Spain*, and to minister in them to the sick and poor People. And tho' *Ignatius* when they acquainted him with that their Intention, did dissuade them from it; yet they having left their Family to look after its self, and gone on foot in the Habit of Beggars to the City of *Jean*, which was many Miles from *Complutum*, *Ignatius* was blamed for it by all their Relations; but above all by Doctor *Criolus*, who was Guardian to the young Lady; and who having gone to the Arch-deacon in a great Rage, he told him, that if that strange Fellow, meaning *Ignatius*, were suffered to go on Preaching, he would turn the Town of *Complutum* upside down, and that he had already infused such Whimsies into a young Ladies Head, who was a great Beauty, that he had sent her to strole a-

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bout the Country a foot in the Habit of a Beggar. Upon this Information, the Arch-deacon did order *Ignatius* to be thrown forthwith into Goal, and to be put in Chains, out of which *Ignatius*, I suppose at the Window, did continue to preach still; and a Learned Man having heard him, when he returned Home he said, he had now heard St. *Paul* Preach in his Chains. But the Arch-deacon had not it seems so high an Opinion of his Sermons, who did strictly forbid him, or any of his Companions to presume to preach for the space of four Years, and not then neither, if during that time they did not apply themselves closely to study Divinity.

Ignatius, who would have burst if he had been four Days without Preaching, knowing that it would not be possible for him to obey this Sentence, he and his Companions did forthwith leave both *Complutum*, and the Diocess of *Toledo*, to go to the University of *Salamanca*, where he did hope he should be allowed the Liberty to preach.

And having taken *Valedolid* in his way, he waited on the Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, who was there at that time; that Arch-bishop is said to have entertained him kindly, and to have encouraged him to go on Preaching, giving him some Money when he took his Leave of him. We may see by this, that *Ignatius* was fallen from two of his First meritorious Austerities; that of not being able to endure Money,

ney, and that of a singular Clownishness; for if he had not been cured of the Last, he would never have had Money, nor no Countenance from that Arch-bishop, who is noted in the Life of Cardinal *Ximenes*, for a Man of great State and Haughtiness.

But notwithstanding the Encouragement he had from that great Arch-bishop to go on Preaching, he had not preached long at *Salamanca*, before he was taken to task for it by the *Dominicans*, tho' they had no Authority to do it; and who having one Day silyly invited him, and one of his Companions to Dine with them, after Dinner the Vicegerent of the Convent, and a Friar of it, who was *Ignatius's* Confessor, begun to talk with him about his Preaching; the Vicegerent seemed to wonder at his Preaching so well, and asked him, how *he and his Companions came by that extraordinary Talent*? *Ignatius*, imprudently, tho' very truly answered, *It was not by Learning, for there was not any Learning among them. No Learning*, said the Vicegerent, *why do you offer to Preach then*? *Ignatius* reply'd, *They did not Preach, but did only set before the People the Beauty of Vertue, and the Deformity of Vice. But how can you do that well*, said the Vicegerent, *without any Learning, unless you be inspired by the Holy Ghost*? *Ignatius*, who would never answer any Body to that, was struck dumb; and being urged vehemently by the Vicegerent to tell him, whether he believed he was
divinely.

divinely inspired or not, all the Answer *Ignatius* would give him was, *We have talked enough of it.* Say you so, said the Vicegerent in a great Passion, *in this time of new Lights, and new Sects, do you thus decline giving an Answer to this Question; I will have one from you I'll promise you, before you and I do part.* *Ignatius* answered, *I shall be ready to give an Answer to that Question, when it is put to me by one that has Authority to ask it, and which you have not.* It is well, said the Vicegerent. And having detained him and his Companions two Days in the Convent, on the third Day, the Arch-deacon of *Salamanca* came with his Notary to give *Ignatius* a Visit there; and having brought him under a strict Examination, he did at last, after the Example of the Arch-deacon of *Toledo*, forbid him, and his Companions to Preach any more for four Years. It is observable, that none of the Jesuits that speak of this Examination, do say one Syllable of that Arch-deacon's having put that Question to him, which he came to examine him upon: But instead of that they tell a long Story of his having examin'd *Ignatius* concerning the Differences betwixt a Mortal and a Venial Sin; the Reason is pretty plain, why they take no notice of that Question's having been put to him, which was, That it might not be upon Record, that *Ignatius* had once owned that he was not divinely Inspired, and which he did undoubtedly

ly at this time; for if he had not, he would not have been at liberty to have left *Salamanca* so soon.

For *Ignatius* finding that he should never be suffered to preach quietly in *Spain*, did resolve to leave it, and go into *France*, where he hoped he might meet with more Favour: And being now Master of an *Afs*, and of a few Books, away he trudged with them to *Barcelona*, leaving his four Companions behind him, but with a Promise to send for them to come to him, if he met with any Encouragement at *Paris*. *Ignatius* and his *Afs* being got safe to *Barcelona*, his Friends there were very much against his going into *France*, which was at that time in a War with *Spain*: But whereas it would have been a great Disgrace to his Profession, to have been hindered from doing what he had a mind to, by any prospect of Dangers, so he would, notwithstanding all that his Friends could say to dissuade him. However, being now very well reconciled to Money, he accepted of some that was offered him, and of Bills too for Money to be paid him at *Paris*, where being arrived, he began his Studies again, and went for eighteen Months to the *Latin* School; and tho' he was then nine and thirty Years Old, did learn his Book at it among the Boys. He afterwards went to the University, and stay'd at it until he took his Master of Arts Degree, having been maintained

tained there by some Pensions from *Spanish* Merchants, living in *Flanders* and *England*, to which Countries he went once, in the time of a long Vacation, and procured those Pensions. At *Paris* he was once under the Examination of a *Dominican* Inquisitor, for having, as it was called, infatuated some Boys, and not long before he left that University, he was, for the same Fault, either publicly whipped, or was very near it.

When he left *Paris* he returned to *Biscay*, where he had extraordinary Honours done him. From *Biscay* he went to *Barcelona*, with an intention to go to *Venice*, where the Companions which he had pickt up at *Paris*, had promised to meet him; three of the four which he had left in *Spain*, having returned to the World. At Sea he had like to have been taken by *Barbarosa*; and at Land, before he had got to *Venice*, he had the most dangerous Adventure he had ever met with before, having gone so far among the *Appennine* Mountains, that he found himself at last in a Place, in which he was like a Knight-errant in an enchanted Castle, for he could neither go backward nor forward; so he was forced upon all four to clamber over some high Mountains all cover'd with Snow, which were on one Hand of him, and when he was got down into the Valley, he found the Mire there so deep and stiff, that he had like to have laid his Bones in it. And to compleat the

the Misfortune of this Adventure, as he was going into *Bononia*, he tumbled off a Bridge into a Moat full of Mud; and so far were the wicked Spectators from pitying of him, that they raised a horse Laugh to see him in so sad a Pickle. At *Venice* he was met by some of his *Paris* Companions, and having been there admitted into holy Orders, he went with two of his Companions to *Rome*, having had an extraordinary Vision by the Way. At *Rome*, being now every where famous for his Visions, the Cardinal *Contarenius*, and Doctor *Ortezius*, the *Spanish* Imperial Minister at that Court, who were both great Scholars, and profound Statesmen, did of a sudden enter into a very particular Friendship with *Ignatius*, who was neither the one, nor the other. Having now brought *Ignatius* into such a Wise and Learned Company, I shall leave him in it, and not say any more of him, and shall only desire Leave to offer a Conjecture, upon the Thing which I conceive might recommend *Ignatius* to the intimate Acquaintance of those two great and able Men.

From the time I first read the Life of *Ignatius Loyola*, writ not by a barbarous blundering Legendary, but by *Masseius*, one of the politest Writers of his Learned Age, I was never able to perswade my self, that a Constitution made with so preat Sagacity and Penetration, as that of the Jesuits Order is, could be the Work of *Ignatius*; whose Head, by all his
other

other Actions, appears plainly to be unsettled and roving, and continually too full of Visions and Whimseys, to be capable of any Depth of Thought; and as I am apt to think that it was *Ignatius's* known Incapacity to frame so artificial a Model, that did first put it into his Friends Heads, that he drew it by Inspiration: So in Truth were I certain it were his Work, I should be inclinable to believe the same, and that he was enabled to draw it by those great Lights, he saith were so often communicated to him by the Enemy. But if that politick Model was not *Ignatius's* Work, as I can never think it was, but the Work of wiser and more composed Heads; the Men of all others the most likely to have framed it, were his two forementioned Friends, the Cardinal *Contarenius*, and Doctor *Ortiz*, who were both great Scholars and able Statesmen, and wonderfully devoted to the Service of the Papacy, to which, against the Reformation, the Society of the Jesuits was erected to be a Bulwark. And whom, not long before that Constitution was published, we find very busy about *Ignatius*, as soon as he came to *Rome*: Doctor *Ortiz*, tho' he was the *Spanish Imperial* Minister in the Papal Court at that time, having left all his Publick Business there, to accompany *Ignatius* to the desert Mountain of *Cassenati*; and where he remained with him alone forty Days, which was time enough for *Ignatius*, if he

he had a fair Copy of that Constitution laid before him to write it over, that it might be shewed to the World under his own Hand. And as that Cardinal and Doctor, did both understand the World too well, not to know that that Constitution would answer the End, for which it was made, much better, if it were believed to have been written by one that was divinely inspired, than it would if it were known to have been framed by the Skill of State Engineers; so *Ignatius* having come to *Rome* full of Visions, and being believed by the Generality of the People to be divinely inspired; when they met with him there, they met with a Man for their Purpose, and so might make use of him accordingly; and to which Conceit, *Ignatius* being looked on as one that was naturally shatterbrained, the Belief of his having drawn up so wise a Constitution would much contribute; as did also his having been, not long before that Constitution was published under his Name, in Imitation of *Moses*, carried by Doctor *Ortiz*, to the Top of a high Mountain in a Desert, and kept there just forty Days. The Popes have likewise done their Part to possess the World with an Opinion, of *Ignatius's* having been divinely inspired in the forming of the Society of the Jesuits. *Paul* the Third indeed, speaking of *Ignatius* and his Companions in his Confirmation of that Order, speaks modestly of them,

them, saying they were, *Spiritu Sancto, ut creditur, afflati*: That it was believed that they were inspired by the Holy Ghost; but Julius the Third leaves out, *ut creditur*, or as it was believed, and says positively they were inspired by the Holy Spirit. And Gregory the Thirteenth saith expressly that Ignatius was inspired in the modelling of the Society of the Jesuits. There is likewise a Book of Exercises published under Ignatius's Name, and which is said to have been Written by him before he learned his *Accidence*, on purpose to confirm the Conceit of his having been inspired; and we have seen how it is said of Ignatius, that he was very backward to own to any body that questioned him about it, that he was not inspired, long before any besides himself, did suspect him of being so.

Whether this Conjecture has any Grounds or not, I shall leave to the Judgment of all that have narrowly observed the whole Course of Ignatius's Conduct, and withal the deep Policy of the Constitution of the Order of the Jesuits, and do not believe Ignatius to have been inspired; and which I think none do besides the Popes, and the Jesuits.

The Words of St. John in the Third Verse of the Ninth Chapter of the Revelation, which are, *And there came out of the Smoak Locusts upon the Earth, and unto them was given Power, as the Scorpions of the Earth*

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have Power, are by many Learned and Pious Men, apply'd to the Monasticks in the *Roman Church*; but whether truly or not, I shall leave to the Determination of those who have thorowly studied that divine Book, but however that may be, in this View of the Monasticks in the *Roman Church*, their Numbers appear to be prodigiously great; and that to the great Prejudice of all *Roman Catholick Princes*, besides the Pope, and of all *Roman Catholick Countries*, besides the City of *Rome*.

First, All *Roman Catholick Princes* are great Sufferers by the Multitudes of Monasticks which they have in their Dominions; who do in a manner lose just so many Subjects, and the Fruits of all their Labours, as there are Monasticks within their Territories, over whom and their Estates, they have little or no Authority.

Secondly, All *Roman Catholick Countries*, are by many ways great Sufferers by the Multitudes of Monasticks which they have in them,

First, For being by that means much less populous than they would otherwise have been, and tho' many will not understand it, the real Strength, Wealth and Glory of a Nation, consists chiefly in its great Number of People.

Secondly,

Secondly, By the Lands which belong to the Monasticks, and which are very great, not contributing any thing towards the Support of the Government, and whose necessary Expences, do for that Reason fall very heavy upon the other Lands.

Thirdly, By the begging Monasticks, who are Numberless, being an insupportable Burden to the Farmers, Fishermen, and Gardiners, &c. by whom they are maintained, with that which they can many times very ill spare from their own, or their Families Mouths.

Fourthly, The Poor that are not able to work, are extreemly wronged by them, by exhausting the Charities which should maintain them; it is true, the Poor who do live in the Neighbourhood of great and Rich Monasteries, are relieved by them; but as they are but few in Number, in comparison of the whole Poor of a Country; so such Monasteries like Forrests, do by affording such small Reliefs, fill their Neighbourhood with Beggars, or with a Lazy sort of People, who if they had not had those small Conveniencies, would have work'd, and by their Work, have lived much better.

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Lastly,

Lastly, By the great Sums of Money which are by the Monasticks carried daily to the Court of *Rome*, for the transacting one Business or another, which they have depending in that Court.

But there is not any Order of Men that suffers so much by the Multitudes of Monasticks, as the Bishops, and their Parochial Clergy.

The Bishops by that means, having great Numbers in their Diocesses in holy Orders, who are not under their Jurisdiction; and who do, upon their Papal Exemptions and Privileges, often give the Bishops great Disturbance; and for the Parochial Clergy, the Monks have robbed them every where of the Main of the great Tithes: And the Mendicant Friars do rob them of the Main of their Offerings; neither can they ever be certain of preserving what they have. For whereas there are several Orders of Monks, whose Lands are by the Pope all made Tithe-free; so if any of the Lands which do pay great Tithes to the Parochial Clergy, do happen to be given to any of those Monasteries, the Tithes are all lost to the Incumbent; so that in Truth, that prodigious Wealth that is in the *Roman Church*, is very unequally, if not unjustly distributed. The Main of it lying in the Court of *Rome*, and in Monasteries, the Benefices of the Parochial Clergy in that Church being com-

commonly so small, that, tho' they have no Families, they can hardly with great Frugality live upon them.

And as there is no Order nor Degrees of Men in *Roman Catholick* Countries, that are not great Sufferers by the multitudes of Monasticks which they have among them, so in truth the Monasticks themselves are not to be envy'd for their leading very easie Lives: For notwithstanding they are eased of the Labours of Work, which if they had not been Monasticks they must have undergone or have starved; yet they have that among them, besides their Austerities, which does commonly render their Lives very uneasy; which is fierce Feuds and Animosities, raised among them chiefly by their being divided into Parties about the Elections of their Superiours, and other Officers, which Posts are commonly coveted by them all, with more Fierceness and Eagerness than Court-Offices are by Courtiers; and the Party that is so unhappy as to lose the Election, is until the next, kept under a Discipline, or rather a Tyranny, so insupportable, that keeps their Heads continually at work to strengthen their Party so as to be able to carry the next Election; by which means most Convents are kept in a perpetual Storm. Thus after they have taken care not to have any trouble from the World, they do create Troubles to themselves, and greater than the World perhaps would

ever have given them, being more uneasie in their Stately Convents, and where they have all the Necessaries of Life, without taking any Care or Trouble provided to their Hand, than they would have been in their Fathers Cottages, and if they had gone to Plough all their Days : And as the Evil of Uneasiness is too common in the Convents of Men, so it is much more in the Convents of Women, where the strict Clausure, the humour some Arbitrary Government of a Peevish old Abbess, and twenty Things more, do cause the generality of Nuns to be the most uneasy Women in the World; and of which, to their great Misfortune they are seldom sensible, before it is too late to remedy it, and to their great Sorrow they do know it to be so; most of their Uneasinesses being made much the more painful, by their having no manner of Hopes of ever seeing an End put to them, by any other way than by the cold Hand of Death. It is true, it may be some Conveniency to the Heir, and to the other Children, to have some of their Sisters condemned to Nunneries, whose Portions may be divided among them; but unless it be in Cases, where their Portions must have been very Considerable, there is not so much saved by that as is generally believed : For as few, or no Nunneries will receive any unto them without a good Sum of Money; so if they have not, after they are profess'd Nuns, some yearly

yearly Allowance from their Friends, they will live so poorly that few Parents if they knew it, would be contented with their Childrens living so.

That all Princes and People, are politically very great Sufferers by the Multitudes of Monasticks which they have among them, is too Manifest to be deny'd by any Body. The thing therefore that is offered in Answer to that plain Truth, is, that the Monasticks, by their Prayers, and Austerities, do procure Blessings from Heaven, for the People among whom they live, which do more than countervail all those political Inconveniences.

Now were this certainly known to be true, it would be a very great Injustice, any more to mention those political Incommodities to the Disadvantage of the Monasticks; but if it will very well bear a Question, as I think it will, *Whether God be commonly more devoutly, or more acceptably obeyed or worshipped by those that are fettered by Monastick Vows, than he is by holy Masters and Mistrisses of Families, and by other serious Christians, who are under no other Vows but their Baptismal;* those political Incommodities may be still strongly objected to the Monasticks: And as the Devotion of those that are not under the Monastick Vows, has more in it of a free Will-offering; so their Obedience to the divine Law, has in it many useful and acceptable Parts which the

Monasticks cannot have. And the Truth is; considering how the Generality of the Monasticks, Men and Women are, whilst they are young, by their Parents or other Relations, either driven, or wheedled into the Monastick Course of Life, or do in Discontent leap into it blind-fold, without any Appearances of a settled inward vital Principle of Devotion; that no such Principle does ever appear in the great Body of the Monasticks, to the rendring of the religious Offices lay'd on them, by their several Rules, a weary Burden to them, is not to be wondred at. Farther, were the Prayers of Monasticks such powerful Engines beyond other Peoples, for the drawing down of Blessings from Heaven, as they are confidently said to be. The raising of the Siege of *Vienna*, having been in my hearing, attributed by a Friar to the Devotion of some unknown Monastick or other; is it conceiveable that neither Christ nor his Apostles, by whom fervent Prayer was for that Reason so much inculcated, should not, if they had not instituted, at-least have highly recommended the three Monastick Vows, for that their extraordinary Usefulness; and were this Matter referred to Experience, I doubt it wou'd be given against the Monasticks; the Countries they swarm the most in, having for a long time been Poor, Feeble and Improsperous; and of all those Miseries their great Numbers of Monasticks,

nafticks, do naturally appear to have been one of the chief Causes: And of this, the Civil Governments in those Countries are indeed so sensible, that they have made Laws, against the Building of any more Convents, without a Royal License. But, if there be no Opposition to it, from any envious or emulous Monasticks, the License is so easily obtained, that those wise Laws do signify little; a very small, if any Stop being put by them, to the encreasing of that Evil, which they suppose to be of very dangerous Consequence to the Publick. For whereas the Models of all new Monasteries, have one pretended Miracle or another for their Foundation; so that Pretence does very much expedite the Royal Licenses; for what a feeble thing must the Authority of Humane Law be, to wrestle with the Almighty Power that is in a Miracle, or which is the same, a thing that is believed to be so, on Monastick Evidence; which in all such Cases is the very worst Evidence in the World; and how can it be otherwise, being, tho' it is false, reckoned meritorious, for the good End it has in its Eye, the Building of a new Convent.

The End of the Fifth Tract.

A N
E S S A Y

O N T H E

Countries, Religion, Learning, Numbers, Forms of Government, and the chief Cause of the Successes of the Nations,

By which the

R O M A N E M P I R E

Was pulled Down.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D. and
Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in
Pater-Noster-Row. 1714.

ESSAY

ON THE

RELATIONS OF RELIGION, LEARN-
ING, MANNERS, FORMS OF
GOVERNMENT, AND THE CHIEF
CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS OR

FAILURE OF

THE NATION

OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY MICHAEL GEORGE LESTER, ESQ.
OF THE BARR

LONDON

Printed for J. Groombridge and J. V. Coombe, at the
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AN ESSAY ON THE

Countries, Religion, Learning, Numbers, Forms of Government, and the Chief Cause of the Successes of the Nations, by which the Roman Empire was pulled down.

THE Saxons, having been by the Greeks and Romans reckoned Superiour to all other barbarous Nations, as they were pleased to call them, for Wit, for Strength of Body, and the Enduring of the Toils of War, I should be unjust to our Ancestors, if I did not give them the Precedency here.

They were Originally a People in the *Cimbricus Chersonesus*, and did live all along the Eastern Coast of the *German*, and the Southern Coast of the *Baltick Seas*. They were divided into several Nations, as the *Angli*, who lived in the Country where the City of *Sleswick*

Sleswick is now; the *Jutæ*, the *Heruli*, the *Verni*, the *Vandali*, the *Longobardi*; and to which, the *Scoti*, may, I believe, be added.

The *Saxons* having more Wit and Courage than their Neighbours, might think it hard that the wisest and bravest Men should have the worst Countries; so they invaded the *Frisij*, and having made themselves Masters of their Country, which was, *Freezland*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, &c. or of all the Sea-Coast at least, they wisely incorporated themselves with that Nation, and by that means they became stronger than they were before. And which the greatest Conquests do never make any People, but rather the Weaker, if the Natives be totally destroy'd, or drove away, or be preserved, but still as a distinct People, from those that conquered them.

The *Saxons* finding, that the employing of their Strength by Land against their Neighbours the *Gauls*, who were supported by the *Romans*, did turn to no Account, they applied themselves wholly to the Sea, of which they had now a very long Coast. And on that Element, *Orosius* saith, they were terrible, both for their Courage and their Agility; and being absolute Masters at Sea, they frequently visited the Coasts of *Gaul* and *Britain*; where having made Descents, they plundered the Country, returned Home, laden

den with Spoils. And tho' they now and then met with Blows ashore, at Sea they were in no Danger but from Storms; by this Means the Sea-Coast of *Britain* was better known to the *Saxons* than to the *Britains* themselves, long before they were invited by the *Britains* into it.

Of all the *Saxons*, or at least of all those that conquered the Southern Part of *Britain*, the *Angli* were the most considerable; and which Conquest, was, for that Reason called *England*, after their Name.

The *Scoti* are generally believed to be *Irish*, and to have come from *Ireland* into *Britain*. But tho' it is certainly true of the *High-Land Scots*, who to this Day speak the *Irish* Language, the *Low-Land Scots* do seem to have been a *Saxon*, or *German*, and not an *Irish* Nation. And that for three Reasons:

The *First* is, Its being manifest from the *Notitia Imperii*, that there was a *German* Nation called *Attacoti*, and who are by *Ammianus Marcellinus* said to have together with the *Scoti* much molested *Britain*. Now, besides the Affinity which there is betwixt these two Names, the *Scoti* and *Attacoti* are spoke of by that Contemporary Learned Historian, as Neighbours and Confederates.

Secondly, The *Scoti* are by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, believing them to be a *German* People, called *Goths*.

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But the *Last*, and chief Reason is, The *Saxon* Language being spoken all over the *Low-lands* of *Scotland*, to the most Northern Part of the Island. The very Name *Scotland*, and the Names of its Metropolis, and of its other great Towns and Counties, are plainly *Saxon*; and which could not have been, if that Country had not been Peopled by a *Saxon* Nation; no, not if they had conquered it, if they had not peopled it too: For tho' a Conquering Sword can change the Religion, the Government, and the Laws in its Conquests, their Languages will not be changed by it, whilst the Conquered do continue to be the Body of the People. So the *Britains* having been all either destroyed, or driven into a Corner of the Island, and their Country Peopled by *Saxons*, the *Saxon* Language came of course into it; whereas the *Normans*, who did likewise conquer *England*, and did all that was in their Power to have brought the *French* Language into it, were not able to do it; and the Reason was, because the *English* did, under the *Norman* Government, still continue to be the Body of the Nation; few *Normans*, besides those that were in their Armies, having come to settle themselves in *England*.

So for the same Reason the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Suevi*, tho' they conquered *Spain*, were not able to bring their Language into it; nor the *Franci* into *Gaul*, nor the *Longobardi* into

into *Italy*, their Languages, in defiance of their Swords, having been vanquished so by the Languages which they found in those Countries, as to be quite lost in the Second Generation. And in truth, the *Saxons* were the only Conquerors that brought their Language to be the Language of their Conquests, and to which they gave their Name also; as all the rest have done, except the *Gothi* and *Suevi*. *Gaul* having been called *France*, from the *Franks*; the Southern Part of *Spain*, *Andalusia*, or *Vandalusia*, from the *Vandals*; the *Cisalpine Gaul*, *Lombardy* from the *Lombards*; one Part of *Pannonia*, *Hungary*, from the *Huns*; and another Part of it *Sclavonia*, from the *Sclavi*: The *Normans* likewise gave the Name of *Normandy* to that Part of *France* which they conquered, but were not able to change the Name of *England*. The *Saxons* gave the Name of *Walish*, that is *Gaulish*, to the *Britains* that remained, and from thence they came to be called *Welch*, and their Country *Wales*. The same Name was given to the *Cisalpine Gauls* by the *Lombards* when they conquered them; and to this Day the People of that Country are called *Walsh* by the *Germans*,

But if the *Britains* were by the *Saxons* called *Welch*, or *Walish*, to signifie they were Foreigners or Strangers, as many say they were; it is a notable Instance of how

little a Superiour Power is concerned, whether what it saith be reasonable or not.

Tho' we are not told when the *Low-lands* of *Scotland* were Conquered and Peopled by a *Saxon* Nation, call'd *Scoti*; yet since we do no where read of the *Saxons*, by whom the Southern Parts of *Britain* were Conquered, having ever Conquered, and much less Peopled those Northern Parts of it; there is great Reason to believe that it must have been done before the Time of that Southern *Saxon* Conquest; and that the *Scoti* spoken of in *Britain* before that time, were those *Saxons* who having destroy'd the *Picti*, whom I do reckon to have been the *Northern Britains*, did, in process of time possess themselves of those *Low-lands*.

Neither is *Ireland* having been formerly called *Scotia Major*, any Proof to the contrary: For as it is by later Historians that *Ireland* is called so, so it is most probable that *Ireland* in latter times had that Name given it to distinguish it from the *Scots High-lands* which retained its Language, Habit, and Customs, and which having been conquered, tho' not Peopled by the *Scoti*, had come to be called *Scotland*.

But tho' I am at present fully perswaded that this is the true Account of the Origine of the *Low-land Scots*; yet if any of the Learned Persons that are of another Opinion, will but shew how the *Saxon* Language could
be

be brought into that Country without its having been Peopled by *Saxons*, it will go a great way towards the bringing me over to them. The Time when the *Scoti* came first into the *Low-lands*, and the *Irish* into the *High-lands* being unknown to me, I shall leave the Settling of that time to those who have looked into the Ancient Records of that Kingdom; tho' I cannot but say, that Genuine Records, reaching to their Origine, are scarce Commodities in all Nations, tho' there are few or none that do not pretend to have them.

The *Goths* were a People of *Scythia*, on the North-side of the *Euxine Sea*; but having in Process of Time flitted, or removed from thence to *Borystenis*, and the Mouths of the *Ister*, they were there divided into *Ostro-Gothi*, or *Eastern-Goths*, and *Visi-Gothi*, or *Western-Goths*; and having been driven from those Seats by the *Huns* and *Alans*, they had leave from the Emperor *Valence* to settle themselves in *Thracia* and the adjacent Countries, as Confederates of the *Roman Empire*; and it was out of those Parts that the *Goths* did come, who made that Name so Famous by their great Conquests. I know there is a Royal Argument for the Conquering *Goths* having been a People of *Denmark*, and of *Sweden*, and of the adjacent Islands. The Sovereign Princes of those two Kingdoms, having upon that Supposition, taken upon

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them

them the Title of the King of the *Goths*. But tho' Crowns are great Things, Truth is greater, and which being more likely to be found in Contemporary Historians, than in Heralds, it must not, being met with in them, be sacrificed to any Deferences: Not that there might not be a People in those Northern Countries which were called *Goths*; but supposing there was, it is pretty certain that they were not the Famous *Goths* who erected the Great Monarchy in *Spain* and *Gaul*; and of this *Magnus Gothus* was so sensible, that without any tolerable Authority he will have his Country *Goths*, to have Conquered and Peopled *Scythia* to the very *Palus Meotis*, and to have been the Ancestors of the *Goths*, which came many Ages after from those Parts, and did raise that Name so high. Besides, that there is no Authority for all this, it has a natural Improbability in it, that renders it almost incredible: Which is, That People should go so far, and toil and fight so much for no other purpose, but that they might settle themselves in worse Countries than their own, which they left. And if *Gothi* be a Corruption of *Getæ*, as probably it is, their first Country will be found about the *Euxine*, and not near the *Baltick Sea*, notwithstanding the Island that is in it, and the Country that is near it, called *Gotland*, or *Gutland*, for so they are called by their Inhabitants. Now, whether *Gor*, or
Gut,

Gut, in the beginning of those Names, was derived from the *Goths*, or from some other Word, I shall leave to the Enquiry of those who understand the *Swedish* Tongue: But this I am sure of, that in *English* there are Names that begin with *Goth* and *Got*, as *Gotheridge*, *Gothill*, and *Gotacre*, that were not called so from that People, but were, I suppose, called so from the Word *God*, or the Word *Good*.

The *Vandals*, of whom the two fore-mentioned Princes do likewise stile themselves Kings, were not of any of their Countries, tho' they were much nearer to them than the *Goths*; the *Vandals* being a Nation of the *Saxons*, and did all live on the South Side of the *Baltick Sea*.

The *Franci* were several *German* Nations, who lived on the East-side of the *Lower-Rhine*; and who having Confederated together, did all take upon them the Name of *Franci*, or *Freemen*; thereby declaring, That they were resolved to perish, rather than become Tributaries to the *Romans*, as their Neighbours the *Gauls* were.

The *Suevi* were a great *German* People on the *Upper-Rhine*; reaching from the top of that River, to the River *Albis*; they and their neighbouring Nations did take on them the Name of *Alamans*, much about the same time, and with the same generous Intention that the *German* Nations on the *Lower-Rhine*,
took

took on them the Name of *Franci*; and as if they reckoned, that a conquered People did not deserve the Name of *Men*, by that new Name of *Alamans*, or *All-men*, they declared they would die, rather than be conquered.

The *Longobardi*, called so by the *Romans*, for their *Long Beards*, were a *Saxon* Nation, who lived in that Country which is now called *Brandenburg*; and who having in *Italy* conquered *Gallia Cisalpina*, did give it the Name of *Longobardi*, now *Lombardy*.

Besides these I have mentioned, there were Twenty *German* Nations more, but which having all long ago sunk into some of the fore-mentioned, I thought it was needless to name them here.

The *Sclavi* were a People that lived in the Countries, which are now called *Poland* and *Lithuania*; and it is very plain from their Language, and which is spoke to this Day in those Countries, that they were no *German* Nation; in process of time they either conquered, or slipped into *Sclavonia*, and the Countries about it; when the former Inhabitants had left them in a manner, and were gone with the *Goths* in quest of better Countries: Many of the *Sclavi* having been taken, and made Bond-men in the Time of *Charles* the Great, did in *France*, and in other Parts, give the Name of *Slaves* to all Bond-men.

The

The *Huns* were an *Asiatick Scythian Nation*, who lived beyond the *Palus Mæotis*, as did the *Alans* also, who having been beat by the *Huns*, joyned with them when they swarmed into the *European Scythia*; where driving the *Goths* before them, they advanced as far as *Pannonia*, and having fixed their Seat there, did give it the Name of *Hungary*.

The *Gauls* were for Numbers and Extent of Land, the greatest People we read of any where; for of that Nation I do reckon the *Spaniards*, *Britains* and *Irish*, to have been, no less than the Inhabitants of the two *Gallias*, one of which is now called *Lombardy*, and the other which is now called *France*, did reach from the *Atlantick Ocean*, to the *Western Banks* of the *Rhine*. And whose Language is spoke no where now but in *Wales*, *Ireland*, and the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, and in those Countries in Dialects so different, that I am told the *Welsh* and *Irish* do not understand one another.

Of the Religion and Learning of these Countries.

SUCH of these Nations as were *German*, did all speak the same Language, and worship the same Gods; the Memory of four of which Gods is still preserved, in all Parts where the *German* Tongue is spoke, in the Names of Four of the Days of the Week; to wit, *Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday* and *Friday*. *Verstigan* will have the other three Days of the Week to have had their Names likewise from the Three *German* Gods, *Sun, Moon* and *Seater*: But considering, that these Days among the *Romans* did bear the Names of the same Three Gods; it is more probable that the *Germans* had those Names from the *Romans*, than that the *Romans* had them from the *Germans*.

In their Worship they were all involved in the Inhumanity of offering Men, Women and Children alive in Sacrifice to their Gods; in which, tho' it was an abominable Barbarity, they were so far from being singular, that it was the Practice of the *Gauls* likewise, and at one time or another of all the Idolatrous Nations on the Earth; and we see that to keep the *Jews* from it, was not an easy Matter.

For Learning it does not appear that they had any, no not so much as the Knowledge
of

of Letters; tho' a certain Romantick Writer, will have them to have been great Masters in the *Pithagorean* Philosophy; but tho' they had among them no Clergy or Learning, it appears from their excellent Constitution of Government, that they wanted not Mother-Wit, or true Wisdom. The Laws brought by them into their Conquests, which were the Feudal, are likewise a plain Proof, that tho' they wanted Learning, and for that Reason were called *Barbarians*, by the Nations that abounded with it; yet that they wanted not Policy.

The *Huns* and *Alans* who were *Asiaticks*, are by *Jornandes* said to have had no Religion nor Superstition, or if they did worship any God, that it was their Sword to which, sticking it in the Ground, they did use to pay some Reverences.

The First of these Nations that turned Christian, were the *Goths* and *Suevi*; but they having been converted to that Faith by *Arian* Bishops, sent to them by the Emperor *Valens*, who was himself an *Arian*, did long adhere to that Heresy, but were converted from it about an hundred Years before their great Monarchy in *Spain* was destroy'd by the *Moors*. The *Franks* were likewise converted early, and in Process of Time the *Saxons*, and all the rest of these Nations; and notwithstanding before several of their Conversions, Christianity was corrupted with
a Mix-

a Mixture of divers Heathenish Superstitions; its true and genuine Doctrines, were nevertheless so powerful, as to mollifie their natural Ferity and Savageness very much, and to civilize their Manners in all the Relations of Life.

Of these Nations great Numbers.

IT has been long a Matter of some Wonder, how the barren Countries out of which the Swarms of Men came, that lighted so heavy on the *Roman Empire*, should then be so much more fertil of People, than they have ever been since; and this prodigious Fertility having been looked on as a thing certain, there have been divers Speculations about the Causes of it. It is by *Mariana* attributed to two Things, the one is the *Northern* People being, by reason of the Cold of their Climate, more prolifick than the *Southern*; and the other is promiscuous Veneries having been in use among them. The First is no Reason at all, for those Countries being then more populous than they are now, the Climate being still the same, and as cold as ever it was. And the Second, however it may appear in Speculation, does seem to have Experience against it. The Countries in which Plurality of Wives, and pro:

promiscuous Venery are allowed, being observed not to be so populous, as the Countries where both those Liberties are prohibited.

It was the finding it not to be easy, to give a satisfactory Reason for this supposed extraordinary Fertility, that first led me to examine the Evidences upon which it has been so generally believed; and upon as severe an Enquiry as I was able to make, those Evidences did not appear to me to be strong enough, to make that Matter indubitable, and that for the three following Reasons.

First, Because unless we knew the certain Bounds of those Countries, and which we are very far from knowing, we cannot judge by the great Armies that went out of them, whether they were extraordinary populous, or no: For tho' a Country that is certainly known to be small, having sent forth great Armies, is a Proof of its being very populous at that Time; it is no Evidence at all, of a vast Country's being so.

Secondly, Because tho' the chief Nation in those Expeditions did bear the Name of the whole, yet since several neighbouring Nations, the Extent of whose Lands is not known, might joyn with them in the forming of those great Armies; as in Fact they did, their having cast such great Swarms, can be no Evidence of their having been extraordinary populous.

Thindly,

Thirdly, If in those Countries, all that were fit to bear Arms went into the Armies, as it is very probable they did, their Armies might be as great as any of them are said to have been, and yet their Countries not have been very populous: Considering, how by reason of their simple, rustick, and frousy Way of living, they had few or no Artificers or Trades-men among them; and who in polite Countries, are a great Part of the People; so that they had none among them, that had Strength enough to carry Arms, that were not fit to use them; having been all bred up to Hunting, and to other man-like Exercises, which fitted them for Soldiers. Besides, great Multitudes of Women, and who are said to have been as warlike as the Men, went along with those Armies; and who, whether they fought or not, would to the Eye make them look more numerous, than they would have looked otherwise. Neither have we any Reason to think, that the Persons from whom we have the Accounts of the Numbers that were in those Armies, did ever either muster them, or tell them, but did guess at their Numbers by their own, or other Peoples Eyes; and there is not any thing our Eyes so grossly impose on us in, as in Numbers, which if great, are judged by the Eye to be double to what they are. Now adding to all this, that those Countries have in them at this Time, many
great

great Cities and Towns, filled with Artificers and Trades-Men, and which they had not then; one may, I think, venture to affirm, that it was not unlikely that they have more People in them now, than they had in those Days, tho' not so many that are fit for Soldiers: For it must be no great Country now, that has not 200000 Men in it, strong enough to carry Arms, and that was the Number of one of the greatest of those Armies, and which we have Reason to believe was taken by the Eye, and not by the Poll, and that Provinces were emptied so by their having gone out of them, that if double that Number of People went out of the same Provinces now, they would leave more behind them. So the High-lands of *Scotland*, tho' they are by much the least populous Parts of that Kingdom, yet by Reason of the same simple and course way of Living, and their Peoples being bred up to the same Exercises, will in Proportion to their Numbers, presently furnish more that are fit to be Soldiers, than the more populous Low-lands; and it is for the same Reason the same with the *Irish*, and the Provinces in which they are planted.

Of

Of their Forms of Government.

TACITUS in his Book *De moribus Germanorum*, gives the following Account of the German Form of Government.

De minoribus rebus Principes consultant, de majoribus omnes; ita tamen, ut ea quoque quorum penes plebem Arbitrium est, apud Principes pertrectentur: coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum & subitum inciderit, certis Diebus, cum aut inchoatur Luna aut impletur: nam agendis rebus hoc Auspicatissimum initium credunt: Nec Dierum numerum ut nos, sed Noctium computant, sic constituunt, sic condicunt, Nox ducere Diem videtur; illud ex Libertate Vitium, quod non simul nec jussi conveniunt, sed & alter & Tertius Dies Contatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut Turbæ placuit, confidunt Armati; Silentium per Sacerdotes, quibus tum & coercendi jus est, imperatur. Mox Rex vel Princeps, prout Ætas cuique, prout Nobilitas, prout decus Bellorum, prout Facundia est, audiuntur; Authoritate suadendi, magis quam jubendi Potestate: Si displicuit Sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt: Honoratissimum assensus genus est Armis laudare.

Eliguntur in iisdem Consilijs & Principes qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt.

About lesser Matters their Princes consult together, but about the greater they all do;
but

but so that the Things of which the People have the Decision, must be handled by the Princes : They assemble themselves together, if they be not hindred by some sudden Accident, on certain Days, and which are the Days either of the new or full Moon, reckoning them to be the most lucky for the dispatching of Business : Neither do they count Time as we do by Days, but by Nights ; and do constitute and appoint so, as if the Night were before the Day. One Fault of their Liberty is, that they will not assemble being commanded, nor come all together at the same time, so that two or three Days are lost by the Slowness of those that are to meet ; those that are in Arms do sit as pleaseth the People, and Silence is commanded by the Priests, who have a coercive Power in that Case. First, the King or Prince speaketh, and after him the rest, according to their Age, Nobility, Glory in War or Eloquence, but with an Authority of perswading, more than with the Power of commanding ; if what is spoke be disliked, they reject it with Hissing ; but if approved of they knock the Benches ; but the most honourable Way of giving their Assent to any Thing is by shaking of Arms.

In those Councils the Princes or Counts are likewise chosen, who are to administer Justice over the Country.

From

From this Account two Things are plain :

First, That the *Germans* had all Kings.

Secondly, That the Authority of their Kings was bounded by Laws.

And as this was their Form of Government in their own Countries, it continued to be so in all their Conquests; neither indeed could it well be otherwise, considering that the Armies by which those Conquests were made, were not like the Armies now-a-days, composed of People which have been either Pressed into them, or that come into them for so much a Day; but were composed of Nobles, and other Free-men, who came into them voluntarily as Adventurers, and whose Reward for their Service, was to be their Share of the Spoils of their vanquished Enemies. Now this having been plainly the Condition of those Conquering Armies, is it conceivable, that in their Conquests, their Princes should offer to reward the great Services of such Soldiers, or rather Adventurers, with changing their Condition from that of Free-men, to that of Bond-men, the Subjects of Arbitrary and Lawless Princes being no better; or that if their Princes had offered to have made such a strange Change, that they would have suffered them to have made it. For since it is much more eligible to be Free-men in the Worst Countries, than Bond-men in the Best, must not the *Saxons* have fought here to good Purpose, if for having Con-

Conquered the *Britains*, they had been rewarded with their having had such a Change made in their Condition. But it is not only unreasonable to think that there was any such Change made at that time, but in Fact it is certain that there was not. For in *England* and *Scotland* that *German* Form of Government remains to this Day; neither has it been long out of *France* and *Spain*, and in which Kingdoms there are still some Remains of it.

By the way, to discover the true Reasons why the *Europeans* have always been, so much more than the *Asiatics*, for being governed by standing Laws, made by their own Consent, rather than solely by the Wills of their Kings, would be an acceptable Curiosity, if any would be at the Pains to gratifie the World with it. But to return,

Now this being considered, is it not a great piece of Confidence in any that are for bringing *England* under a Commonwealth Form of Government, if there be any among us so mad as to think of it, to assume to themselves the Honourable Title of *True Englishmen*; and have they, who would make our Princes Arbitrary and Absolute, any better Right to that Title: Since it is plain, that the *Angli* were perfect Strangers to both those two Forms of Government.

Tho' *Tacitus* saith nothing of it, it is probable the *German* Monarchies were all Elective, and did continue so for some time in all their Conquests. Some of which having in process of time justly grown weary of that Form of Government, by reason of the violent Dissentions and Tragical Strugglings that do commonly attend so great Elections, they made their Crowns Hereditary, but so, as not to allow their Princes, after that, any more Authority than they had before, whilst they were Elective; the Legislature having been still continued by them, so in the King, Nobles, and People, that no Law could be made, suspended, and repealed but with their common Consent.

By the way, I cannot but note here, That the *German* Custom of reckoning Time by Nights, and not by Days, of which *Tacitus* takes notice, has a Proof still remaining in our Language, in which a Week is called a *Sennight*, or *Seven Nights*.

The Government of the *Goths*, *Huns*, and *Alans*, was the same with the *Germans*, so that great Monarchy, which was erected by the *Goths* in *Spain*, did continue Elective, and limited by Laws made by the King, Nobles, and People, from the time of its Foundation, until its Fall. And till of late Years the Monarchies of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* were Elective. Neither was that Form of Government ever freely changed, for being Inconvenient,

nient, by the States of those Realms, but by the Violence and Subtilty of the House of *Austria*. And it would have been no small Happiness to the Protestant Religion in general, if our King *James* the First would have understood that the Monarchy of *Bohemia* had been so.

*Of the Chief Cause of the Successes of the
Barbarous Nations.*

THREE Things, besides the Divine Ordination, did visibly contribute much to the *Roman Empire's* being pulled down, when it was, by the barbarous Nations.

The *First* was, the Division which was made by *Constantine the Great* of that Empire, among his Sons.

The *Second* was, the great Convulsions, into which it was thrown frequently, by the tumultuary Elections of divers Emperors in distant Places.

The *Third* was, its Bounds continuing to be still of the same vast Extent, after it had not Strength left to defend them.

But there was a *Fourth* Thing, that in my Opinion did contribute more to its being pulled down, than any of the former; which

was, the barbarous Nations having been about that time Instructed by the *Romans* in all the Arts and Discipline of War, without which, the greatest Bodies of Men, tho' in their Persons never so Brave, are not able to grapple with lesser Numbers, personally not so Stout, Cemented together by good Order.

It may indeed justly be questioned, Whether the *Saxons* that Conquered *Britain*, whose Force lay chiefly in a *Sea*, in which the *Romans* had no Fleets, did ever learn any thing of Military Discipline from them. But supposing they did not, they needed it not much in the Conquests which they made; in which they had not *Roman* Armies to fight with, there being few *Romans* left in this Island when they Conquered its Southern Parts, but *Britains*, who understood as little of Military Discipline as they did: Besides, that there was a good deal of Treachery in that Conquest, and for that Reason the less of War in it. And as to the fighting Part, it was the same with the *Scoti* and the *British Picti*; but with the barbarous Nations which invaded the *Roman Empire* in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, it was quite otherwise. In all which Countries, they met with Armies they would not have been able to have grappled with, if they had not had Discipline among them.

The *Romans* were undoubtedly too Wise a People, not to fore-see of how ill Consequence
it

it might be to them to have Great and Fierce Nations, who understood nothing of War besides down-right Blows and Fighting, instructed in its Stratagems, ever to have taught them, if they had not been forc'd to it, and would probably, rather than have done it, have contracted their Borders to some Proportion with the remaining Strength. But when the Interest, Security, and Honour of the Empire came to be so little considered, that they were all, at every Turn, sacrificed to the Ambition of the Pretenders to it; those Pretenders did, to strengthen themselves against their Rivals, as they had Opportunity, take great Numbers of the barbarous Nations into their Armies, and in which they gladly taught them the Discipline of War.

A small Door was indeed opened to this Evil, by the wise Emperor *Augustus*, who being afraid to trust the *Romans* with his Person, who he knew were generally displeased with the Change he had made of their Government, did take *Batavians* for the Guard of his Body. That Emperor did likewise, and perhaps for the same Reason, take into his Armies such great Numbers of Remote *Gauls*, that *Tacitus* saith it was become a Saying among them, *Nihil validum in Exercitibus Romanis nisi quod externum: That nothing was Stout in the Roman Armies that was not Foreign.* And the Emperor *Claudius*, who never did a wise Action in

his Life, was so fond of those People, that he preferred them to the *Romans*. But tho' this might not be very safe, it was nothing so dangerous as what was done afterwards; these *Barbarians* having all lived in Countries which had been Conquered by the *Romans*, and who having all lived for some time under their Government, might have felt it so easie, as to be willing to fight to support it. But it was quite otherwise with the Unconquered Barbarous Nations, who were on the *German* side of the *Rhine*; who after they had learnt the *Roman* Military Discipline, and had been shewed how much better Countries *Italy* and *Gaul* were, than their own; it was not at all likely, that they would fight long for any but themselves; or that they would be long contented with their Native Cold Climates, and Barren Soil, after they found themselves strong enough to help themselves to better.

The first, that I read of, that made use of the Unconquered *Germans* in great Bodies, was *Constantine*, there having been many Battalions of *Alamans* and *Franks* in the Army, wherewith he Fought and Vanquished *Maxentius*. And *Magnantius*, who was himself a *German*, but had fought long in the *Roman* Armies, when he set up to be Emperor, had in his Army many more *Germans* than *Romans*. And *Gratian* having, whilst he was a Child, been raised to the Empire by the great Power
of

of *Merodates*, a German Captain, he filled both his Court and Camp with Germans.

After it had been thus in the *Western Empire* for some time with the Unconquered Germans, it came to be the same in the *Eastern* with the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*, and *Alans*, in the time of the Emperor *Theodosius*, who to strengthen himself against *Maximus*, did take great Bodies of those Nations into his Armies; and having with their Assistance subdued his Rival, he preferred their Chieftains to the highest Civil and Military Posts; for which piece of Gratitude the *Roman Empire* paid dear soon after.

Stilico, who was a *Vandal*, and by whom the *Goths* were first encouraged to Invade the Empire, was so much in *Theodosius's* Favour, that he married him to his Niece, and trusted him with the chief Command in the *Western Empire*. And *Arbogastes* a *Frank*, who did treacherously procure the Name of Emperor for one *Eugenius* keeping the Authority of it to himself, was so far trusted by *Theodosius*, that he appointed him to be Governor in the *West* to the young Emperor *Valentinianus*. And *Alaricus* the *Goth*, by whom *Rome* was sacked not many Years after *Theodosius's* Death, was shewed his way into *Italy* by the *Romans*, with whom he had marched twice into it from *Pannonia*, as a General, in *Theodosius's* Armies. In a word, at the time when the barbarous

Nations did rush in upon the *Roman Empire* on all Sides as so many Torrents, all, or most of their Leaders had been Captains in the *Roman Armies*, and in which most of the Soldiers likewise that followed them, had served as Auxiliaries, and who had all by that means come to understand the Discipline of War, and which they might never have done, if it had not been taught them by the *Romans*.

Thus, to use the words of a Prophet, *The Ravenous Birds of every Wing, that picked out the Eyes of the Roman Eagles, were hatched Soldiers by them*; and who having destroyed the *Roman Empire*, did make way for the Erecting of that *Empire* in its place, of which St. Paul speaks in the 2d Chap. of his 2d Epist. to the *Thessalonians*, where, by, *He that now letteth*, the *Roman Empire* was plainly meant. For if that *Empire* had to this Day continued as entire as it was when the Apostle writ that Epistle, the Papal Empire could never have sprung up in its Metropolis. And for that Reason, the first Christians did use to tell their Persecutors, *That they were so far from being Enemies to the Empire, and its Stability, that they prayed fervently to God for its Preservation; knowing from their Prophecies, but namely from the abovementioned, That whenever the present Empire was destroyed, another would spring up in its Seat, that would be more cruelly Antichristian.* And was ever any Prophecy more visibly fulfilled,

filled, or were any Fears ever juster than those derived from that Prophecy; and which made the First Christians, tho' Persecuted for their Religion by the *Roman Empire*, to pray fervently for its Continuance, as a lesser Evil, than that which was in process of time to succeed it: Infinitely more Christian Blood having been shed by the *Papal Empire*, and its Agents, for not complying with the Idolatry of its Worship, than ever was shed by *Rome* Heathen.

The End of the Sixth Tract.

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The End of the Sixth Part

A N
ESSAY
ON THE
CANONS
OF THE
Council of Sardica,

Particularly on that which Relates to

APPEALS to ROME.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D. and
Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

And their Lies caused them to Err. Amos 2. 4.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in
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T H E

Introduction.

HAVING long had some Suspicion, That the Canons which have for many Ages passed Currant under the Name of the Council of Sardica, were not made by that Council, but were forged many Tears after, and fathered upon it, to help them to Credit: I did wish earnestly, that some able Ecclesiastical Antiquary would undertake to Sift those Canons, more narrowly, than I take them to have been either by the Greeks, or by the Protestants.

And to that end, in the Appendix to my Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy, I did publish that my Suspicion to the World, and did afterwards ask a very Learned Man what his Thoughts were of those Canons. And though I cannot say, that he gave any Encouragement to that Suspicion; yet not having offered any thing that I felt
strong

The Introduction.

Strong enough to remove it, I shall here modestly set down the Grounds on which it stands; leaving them to be Improved, or Destroyed, with that Indifferency which always attends a Love for Truth, without any Mixture in it of an Affectation of Singularity, or of any other Partial Ingredient.

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ESSAY

ON THE

CANONS of the Council of
SARDICA, &c.

AS it was visibly to *Rome's* being the Metropolis to the Empire, that the Bishops of that City did owe all the Pre-eminencies that were bestowed on them by the Primitive Councils; so it was that *Principatus*, as *Irenæus* calls it, and its necessary Concomitants, such as oppressed Ecclesiasticks fleeing to *Rome*, for to have Relief from the Imperial Authority, that first filled the Heads of the *Roman* Bishops with the Ambitious Fumes of their having such a Superiority over all other Churches, that there lay an Appeal from them to their *See*, as to the Supreme and last Ecclesiastical Judicature.

The great Authority and Dignity of the Pontifex *Maximus* in *Rome* Heathen, and the Bishop

Bishop of that City, after it was become Christian, reckoning that that High Office had naturally divolved to him, was one of the first and strongest Seeds of the Papal Ambition. So that in truth it was not Christ and the wide Propagation of his Gospel, but *Numa* and the *Romans* great Conquests that laid the Foundation of the *Roman* Bishop's Pretences to a Supremacy over all his Brethren, and that it was so, the Bishops of *Rome* having assumed to themselves the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and holding it to this Day, is a plain Evidence, not that the *Roman* Bishops having taken upon them that Title, when it was justly dropt by the Christian Emperors, who had too long retained it, was a thing improper; no not tho' they had, by virtue of it, laid claim to the Precedency of all other Bishops within the *Roman Empire*, provided they had kept it upon that its true Bottom; and this I believe they would have done, if the Seat of the Empire had never been removed from their City. For tho' it is true, that before that Translation of the Seat of the Empire, another ground for that Pre-eminence had been mentioned; it is more than probable, that that ground did arise so out of the former, that the Story of the first of the Apostle's having been Bishop of *Rome*, had never been dreamt of, if the Christians after they were grown numerous in that City, had not begun to think, that after the Examples of the

the

the Heathens in it, their Bishop ought to be the chief Pontiff of their Religion. But to enter upon the business of *Appeals*.

What was done by the Emperor *Constantine* the Great in *Donatus's* Cause, when he fled from *Africk* to *Rome* for Succour, visibly subverts the very Foundations of the Papal Claim to Appeals: *Melchiades* Bishop of *Rome* at that time, having done nothing in that Affair but what he did by vertue of a Commission from that Emperor, and who joyned Three Bishops more with him in it as Judges; and *Donatus* having Appealed to that Emperor against the Sentence of those Bishops, the Emperor called a Council of Bishops at *Arles* in *France*, to review their Sentence, and to do *Donatus* Justice.

Neither did what happened in the Case of *St. Athanasius*, when he fled from *Egypt* to *Rome* for Relief, as he had done some Years before to *Constantinople*, when the Emperor was in that City; it being very plain, that the thing that carried him thither, was to seek for Relief from an Emperor, who professed the Faith for which he was so much persecuted, having been Deposed and Excommunicated for it by the *Arians*. And having after he was at *Rome* prevailed with the Emperor *Constantine*, who adhered to the *Nicene Creed*, to write to his

Brother *Constantius*, who was a Bigot for *Arianism*, that a Council of the *Eastern* and *Western* Bishops might be assembled together in some convenient Place to hear his Cause. Such a Council was accordingly agreed on by the two Emperors, and which having met at *Sardica*, a City on the Frontiers of both their Dominions. *St. Athanasius* after a full hearing of his Cause was acquitted by the Orthodox, and major part of that Council; but was condemned by that Part of it which had retired to *Philippi*, and by whom, *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* was Excommunicated for having held Communion with him.

Note here, that tho' the Bishop of *Rome* on this Occasion was Excommunicated, and that unjustly too by the *Arians*, yet that they are not for having done that, nor for any of their other Oppositions to the *Roman See*, ever charged by their Adversaries with *Heresy*; and which they would certainly have been by *Athanasius*, and the other Orthodox Bishops, if they themselves had believed the *Roman Church* to have had a Supremacy over all other Churches.

It is true, *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, who after his Emperor's Example, firmly adhered to the *Nicene Creed*, was very kind to *Athanasius* when he was in the *West*, and did him

him all the good Offices that were in his Power; as indeed what Bishop will not do so, to other Bishops being cruelly persecuted for the Faith which they Profess. It is true also, that it is natural for People that are oppressed, to be too forward to allow their Friends all the Power that they will pretend to, though without any just Grounds, that they may be able to succour them the more. And yet I don't find that *Athanasius* was so far charmed with *Julius's* Civilities to him, as to be guilty of that common Weakness, having no where intimated, that the thing which had carried him to *Rome*, was to *Appeal* to the Bishop of that *See*, as to the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge. But what *Athanasius* himself did not, an Officious *Roman* Hand did for him long after his Death: It was the same with Pope *Julius*, who for not having said enough that looked that way, had long after his Death two Letters forged under his Name, in which there is enough said of it.

But it was not by Foreign Ecclesiasticks, unjustly persecuted, having fled to the *Principatus*, or the Imperial Authority in *Rome* for Relief, that the Bishop of that City's Crests were first raised; but by Ecclesiasticks fleeing thither, who had been justly Excommunicated by their own Bishops.

And as such were willing to make the *Roman* Bishop their Friend, as one that might do them some kindness with the *Imperial Principatus*, on which he could not but have some Influence ; so for their own Benefit, they were forward to allow that Bishop the Authority of receiving *Appeals* from all other Churches. And as that was natural for such Delinquents, so the *Roman* Bishops did value themselves too highly on the *Imperial* Supremacy of their City, not to make use of that Handle ; and after the putting in of a Claim to that Jurisdiction was got once into their Heads, to Encourage the making of such *Appeals* they oftentimes shewed too much Favour to such Delinquents : But to fall on the Business in Hand.

The Story of the Council of *Sardica*, is a dark and perplexed piece of History : By some it is said to have been assembled by *Constantine* the Great ; by others, by his Sons *Constantine* and *Constantius* ; by some, and of which Number was the great St. *Austin*, it is said to have condemned the *Nicene Creed*, by others to have renewed and confirmed it, and by others not to have meddled with it at all, nor with any thing else but *Athanasius's* Cause ; by some it is said to have consisted but of 68 Bishops, by others of 250, by others of near 300,
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by others of above 300; so that in truth there is nothing that concerns it, that is very certain. But it is not my Business here, to enquire into the Merits of that Council, but to enquire only, whether the Canons which have passed currant so long under its Name, were made by it or not.

Now by whom or whensoever those Canons were made, the Third, Fourth and Fifth in the *Greek*: And in the *Latin*, the Third, Fourth, and Seventh, had the Establishing of an Authority in the *Roman See*, to receive Appeals from all other Churches, directly in their Eye; the Seventh of which Canons, having near an 100 Years after the time of the *Sardican Council*, been sent into *Africk* by Pope *Zozimus*, as a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, and having been justly deny'd by the *African Fathers* to be a *Nicene Canon*; a solemn Contest arose about it, betwixt them and that Pope, and his two immediate Successors, of which publick Contest, since my first Suspicion of the *Sardican Canons* being spurious did owe its Birth to it, I shall here give a short Account.

One *Appiarius* a Presbyter of the Church of *Sicca*, a City in *Africk*, having been for divers Misdemeanours Excommunicated by *Urbanus* his Bishop, he fled to *Rome*; where to encourage Appeals to that *See*, he was

by *Zozimus* Bishop of that City absolved, and receiv'd into the Communion of the Church.

The *African* Bishops, who in a Council which they had held not long before at *Milevi*, had strictly forbid all transmarine Appeals, being much offended with what *Zozimus* had done; did, to put a full stop for the future to all such Irregularities, and Usurpations of Power, Assemble together in a Council in the City of *Carthage*, to the Acts of which Council there are the Subscriptions of 217 Bishops, and among whom was *St. Austin*.

Pope *Zozimus* fearing least there might be something done in that Council to that Ruin of his young and tender Claim, did send Three Legates to it to maintain it, and knowing how profound and just a Reverence the *African* Church had for the Authority of the general Council of *Nice*, he furnished his Legates with a Canon, which did expressly declare the Jurisdiction of receiving of Appeals to be in the *Roman See*, and which Canon he very boldly affirmed was made by the *Nicene Council*: That Canon was as followeth.

It has pleased, that if a Bishop that is accused, and is by the Bishops of his Region assembled together judged worthy to be deposed, shall Appeal and Flee to the most blessed Bishop

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of the Roman Church, desiring to be heard : He if he shall think it just, that his Judgment should be renewed, may condescend to write to the Bishops of the Neighbouring Province, diligently to examine the Matter, and to define it faithfully according to Truth. And if any one that shall desire to have his Cause heard over again, shall supplicate the Roman Bishop, to send Presbyters from his own Side, it shall be in the Power of that Bishop to do in that as he shall think good. And if he do decree to send some to be present with those Bishops in judging, they having the Authority of him by whom they were sent, shall have the Arbitriment : But in case he shall judge those Bishops to be sufficient to put an end to that Matter, he may do what he in his most wise Council judgeth to be best.

This Canon, after the Example of most Forgeries is so perplexed, and in its several Copies so differently exprest, that its whole meaning is not easy to be understood; but its main Drift is nevertheless very plain, which is, the Authorizing of *Appeals* from all Churches to the *Roman See*; in Contradiction to former Canons, by which they were ordered otherwise.

There was another Canon besides this delivered by *Zozimus's* Legates, and as a Canon of the Council of *Nice* too, and which is now likewise among the *Sardican*

Canons, but much longer there, than it is in *Zozimus's* Commonitory; it is concerning Presbyters and Deacons Appealing from the rash Sentences of their Bishops. But as there is nothing in that Canon of *Appeals to Rome*, but rather the Contrary, so the *African* Fathers entered into no Dispute about it; and the Truth is, *Zozimus* seeking to defend what he had done in *Appiarus's* Case by that Canon, looks as if he had received his *Appeal*, as the *Metropolitan* of the Neighbouring Province to *Africk*, which *Appeals* were authorized by the Council of *Antioch*, and not as the Supreme Judge of the whole Church.

When the above repeated Canon was by *Zozimus's* Legates delivered in a Commonitory, as a Canon of the general Council of *Nice*, the *African* Bishops were all astonished to hear of that Council's having made such a Canon, there being no such among the *Nicene* Canons which were in their Hands; and having told the Legates, that tho' they were ready to yield Obedience to every thing that had been constituted by the *Nicene* Council, they could not believe that Canon to have been made by it. The Legates being positive that it was undoubtedly a Canon of that General Council, the *African* Fathers to put an end to that Dispute, which the positive Words of the Parties

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ties engaged in it would never do, said, they would send to the Bishops of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, to have from them the true Copies of all the Canons which had been made in the *Nicene* Council. And having accordingly dispatched Legates to all those three great Bishops, they had true Copies sent into *Africk* from them, of the Canons of that Council, and which did all agree with the Copy of the *Nicene* Canons which they had before. Among which, the forementioned Canon was not only not found, but among them there was a Canon that contradicted it, Commanding, none that were Excommunicated by their Bishops, to be any where received into the Communion of the Church before they are admitted into it, either by the Bishop, or by a Synod of the Province to which they belonged.

Now as it had required time for the *African* Bishops to have true Copies of the Canons of the *Nicene* Council, from the remote Cities to which they had sent for them; so during that time the Bishops of *Rome*, for there were Three whilst this Controversy was depending, did stand it out stiffly, that the Canon which had been sent to them by Pope *Zozimus*, was indisputably made by the General Council of *Nice*; neither were they at all moved, by that Canon's

Canon's not being in the Authentick Copies of the *Nicene* Canons, sent out of the *East* to the *African* Bishops. The same Claim, and without Success was made likewise in the *Gallican* Church, by *Zozimus* and his two Successors; which Trick being taken with all its Circumstances, may safely defie History to produce such another, for a sturdy and shameless Assurance. And tho' it might well have been hoped that the *Roman* Bishops, after that Trick came to be so publickly detected before the Face of the whole Christian Church, should have been glad silently to have dropped a Cause, which by having so long endeavoured to support, by so gross an Imposture, had drawn so much Shame and Confusion upon their Heads; we shall hereafter see, that it was quite otherwise; and that instead of being so much mortify'd, they presently went hard to work to cover that shameful Blot on their *See*, by heaping upon it Frauds upon Frauds: And among which I do suspect the Canons which have passed so long currant under the Name of the Council of *Sardica* to have been, that which was sent by Pope *Zozimus* to the *African* Bishops, as a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, being one of them. Of which Canons I come now to speak.

Now,

Now, considering this long and great Contest, which was betwixt the *African* Church, and Three Bishops of *Rome* successively, concerning the forementioned Important Canon; Can it well be imagined, that if that Canon had been made by the Council of *Sardica*, that both those Popes, and those *African* Bishops would not have known that it was made by that Council; or if they had known it, that they would not, on such an Occasion have mentioned it, which neither of them do in the least.

For as to the Popes, as it is not credible that if that worthy Canon had been made by the Council of *Sardica*, that they would not have known that it was: So neither is it credible that if they had known it, that they would not have Proclaimed it aloud, after they were convicted of the Fraud of having endeavoured to impose it on the *African* Church as a Canon of the Council of *Nice*; both the Honour of their *See*, and of their young and tender Claim to *Appeals*, which could not be but much shaken by that solemn Detection calling upon them to have done it. The mistaking of the Canon of one Council for the Canon of another, being nothing near so Scandalous and Dishonourable, as was the devising of a Canon, and fathering it on

a General Council, on purpose to serve a Turn. And of this last, for want of their having told the *African* Bishops that it was a *Sardican* Canon, they were thought to be Guilty. And to this Day we see the Papal Champions do look on this as the best thing that can be offered to vindicate Pope *Zozimus* and his two Successors, from having been down-right Falsaries and Impostors in the Affair of this Canon.

And as to the *African* Bishops, if this Canon had been made by the Council of *Sardica*, as they could not but have known of its having been made by that Council, at which no fewer than 36 *African* Bishops were present; so if they had known that, could they possibly, during so long a Contest, concerning the Council by which that Canon was made, not have once mentioned its being a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*; and the rather because that would, in all likelihood, have saved them the great Charge and Trouble of sending Legates to the Three remote Cities of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, for faithful Copies of the Canons of the *Nicene* Council; for had they told Pope *Zozimus* at first, That that Canon which he offered to impose upon them as a Canon of the Council of *Nice* was not a Canon of that Council, but was Word for Word a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*

Sardica as it is now; he and his Successors would have been ashamed to have urged that Matter any farther, or to have given them the Trouble of sending so far for faithful Copies of the *Nicene* Canons.

Add to this, that neither *Athanasius* who in his Writings speaks so much of the *Sardican* Council, and to whom *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* was so great a Friend, nor any other Writer about that Time, no not Pope *Julius* himself, has one Syllable of that Council's having made any such Canon as that of *Zozimus's*, or indeed any Canons at all. Neither is there a Word of this Council's having made any Canons, in either of its Genuine Letters which are in *Athanasius*, nor in that which was forged under its Name to Pope *Julius*.

Nor was this Canon of *Zozimus* 50 Years after the Time of the *Sardican* Council known to the *Western* Bishops, who writing to the Emperor *Theodosius*, to have a Council of the *Western* and *Eastern* Bishops assembled, to judge of *Maximus* Bishop of *Constantinople's* Cause, who they thought had been unjustly deposed by his *Eastern* Neighbours, do not on that Occasion, so much as mention the *Dernier Resort*, or last *Appeal* of Ecclesiasticks being by any Canon of the Church lodged in the *Roman* See;

See ; and which they would certainly have done, and have insisted on it, if they had known that there had been any such Canon. On the contrary, they do expressly disclaim that Authority, which is by *Zozimus's* Canon lodged in the Bishop of Rome ; declaring on that Occasion, *Non Prærogativam Nobis vindicamus Examinis, sed Consortium communis Arbitrii: We do not assume to our Selves the Prerogative of an Examination, but only the Fellowship of a common Arbitriment ;* that is, in Conjunction with the *Eastern* Bishops. Neither did Pope *Innocent* the First, 60 Years after the Time of the *Sardican* Council, know any thing of that Council's having made any such Canon, for if he had, he would not have told the *Eastern* Clergy, *That the Roman Church admitted no Canons but the Nicene.*

It is true, *Palladius*, who flourished in the beginning of the Fifth Century, saith, *That the Canon of the Council of Antioch, which had lodged the last Appeal of Ecclesiasticks in the Neighbouring Province of Bishops, was abrogated by the Sardican Council.* But he does not say, that it was abrogated by a Canon made in that Council, but only by that Council having in Contradiction to that Canon of *Antioch* review'd *Athanasius's* Cause, and judged him to have been unjustly

ly Excommunicated and Deposed by his *Eastern Neighbours*.

It is the same with *St. Basil*, and with all that do before the 6th Century speak of the Acts of the *Sardican Council*, who had in their Eye no other Acts of that Council, but those only which did relate directly to *St. Athanasius's* Absolution, of which Acts they did all approve.

Now all this Silence appears to me to be so strong an Evidence of the *Sardican Council's* not having made that Canon, that I shall suspect that it did not, until I shall see some good Reason given to the contrary; but that it was fathered on that Council after the Time of the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, and that on purpose to retrieve the Credit of the *Roman See*, and of its Claim to *Appeals*. And whereas it would have looked odd for a Council to have made but one Canon, and that a Canon too which had been blown on so much, or with but one Canon for a Companion; the rest were therefore devised and fathered on the *Sardican Council*, on purpose to keep it in Countenance. And the Thing that inclines me the more to believe that this may be the true History of the *Sardican Canons*, is, the Bishops of *Rome* and their Agents having after the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, by numberless Frauds sought to cover this Blot.

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The First was, by counterfeit Writings, to have perswaded the World that the *Nicene* Council had made more Canons than the Twenty which were in all the *Eastern* and *African* Copies: And that those super-numerary Canons being lost, that which was sent by Pope *Zozimus* into *Africk* might have been one of them. And as this, if it could have been proved, would have gone a great way towards the vindicating of that Pope and his Successors, so they went to work to provide strong Proofs of it.

And whereas no Man, in every thing that related to the Council of *Nice*, could be so good a Witness as *Athanasius*, who was present at that Council, and suffered so much for adhering to it: So for that Reason two Letters were forged under his Name to bear Testimony to that Paradox. The one was said to be Written by him to Pope *Mark*, and the other to Pope *Felix*. And being sensible that it would not be an easie thing to perswade the Christian World, of the *Nicene* Council's having made any more than twenty Canons, that they might have four Witnesses, they forged two Letters under the Name of Pope *Julius*, and one under the Name of Pope *Mark*.

In the Letter under his Name to Pope *Mark*, *Athanasius* is made to speak home to the Matter; saying in it, *Verily, I my self*
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being present, Eighty Chapters were made by that Synod, (meaning the *Nicene*) Forty by the Greeks, and which were published in Greek, and Forty by the Latines, and which were published in Latin. Now besides this strange News, some things are spoke of in that Letter which happened long after Pope Mark's Death ; and indeed there are so many such Blunders in it, that it is given up for a Forgery both by *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*. And tho' the Letter to Pope *Felix* has not the Advantage of such an Acknowledgement, being confidently quoted by *Bellarmino* as a Genuin Writing, it deserves it as well: For in that Letter *Athanasius* is made to tell *Felix* strange News indeed ; which was, That he was Consecrated a Bishop at *Rome*, and at *Felix's* Request ; whereas all the Christian World knows, that *Athanasius* was Consecrated a Bishop at *Alexandria*, long before he and *Felix* were acquainted. There is also a false Indiction in that Letter ; and in it, the Bishop of *Rome* is flatter'd in bad *Latin*, as fulsomely as ever he was by any hungry Parasite.

Pope Mark's Letter to *Athanasius*, positively affirms the *Nicene* Council to have made Seventy Canons, according to the Number of the Seventy Disciples. But as that Letter bears Date after Pope Mark's Death, and takes notice of Things that

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happened after it; so *Baronius* is forced to give it up for a Forgery. And as to the Two Letters under Pope *Julius's* Name, when it is told, That they do belong to the noble Collection of the *Decretal Epistles*, enough is said to ruin their Credit, not only with all Protestants, but with *Baronius* likewise, who with Cardinal *Bona* acknowledges them to be Counterfeits. It is the same with Pope *Damasus's* Letter to the *African Bishops*, and with the Letter of three *African Councils* to *Damasus*, in which, in Contradiction to the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, the Right of *Appeals* is proclaimed to be in the *Roman See*. And whereas *St. Austin* had been a great Part of that Council which had so firmly withstood Pope *Zozimus* and his counterfeited Canons, in the Affair of *Appeals*; to ward off his great Authority, a Letter was long after his Death counterfeited under his Name, in which he is made to approve of the *Appeals* to *Rome*, he had opposed so much in the Sixth Council of *Carthage*. And tho' that Letter is no where found among *St. Austine's* Works, but only in a single Copy of his Letters, and in a late Hand in the *Vatican Library*, the great and false Repository of all the Papal false Deeds; *Baronius* vapours with it, as a Demonstration of that Father's having approved of *Appeals* from all Parts

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to *Rome*, provided they were duly ordered. And so does, contrary to plain Matter of Fact, pretend that *Appeals* to *Rome* were not condemned by the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, but only their not being regularly made.

Now what a Cloud of Forgeries, tho' I have not named half of them, did *Zozimus's* Canon raise, to be a Covering to it; and by which long Train of counterfeit Writings, which were through many unlearned Ages believed to be undoubtedly Genuin, the very Foundations of the Papal Supremacy are laid open so, that none that have not their Eyes either blinded by the God of this World, or strangely dazled with the present great Splendor of the Papal Empire, can help seeing the Hay and Stubble they stand upon, through all the thin Mists raised by subtle Heads to cover them. But to return;

When it was found that the Christian World was not to be perswaded by counterfeit Writings, that the Council of *Nice* had made any more than Twenty Canons, they had Recourse to other Frauds.

The First was, That the Councils of *Nice* and of *Sardica*, were by the Ancients looked on as one and the same general Council, and that that was the Reason of Pope *Zozimus's* having called the *Sardican*

Canon which he sent into *Africk*, a Canon of the Council of *Nice*: And when it was found that this would not do neither, as it could not be well expected that it should, the Council of *Sardica* having met above 20 Years after the Council of *Nice*, and having had but few of the same Bishops in it; they then began to extol the *Sardican* Council its self, as a General Council, and of equal Authority with the *Nicene*, if not of greater, in the *African* Church, which had not near so many Bishops at the *Nicene*, as she had at the *Sardican* Council.

Now these three Shifts, of the *Nicene* Council's having made more than Twenty Canons, and of the *Sardican* Council's being one and the same with the *Nicene*; and of the *Sardican* Council its self being a general Council, and reckoned so by the Ancients; tho' they are all incredible Paradoxes in Ecclesiastical History; are nevertheless defended to this Day by all the sworn Champions of the *Roman See*, but with Weapons so blunt and weak, that were they not whetted and strengthened with outrageous Railing, and a double tempered Assurance, they would be ashamed to bring them into the Field of Controversie. For Example, *Baronius* the ablest of all those Champions, offers to demonstrate the Council of *Sardica* to have been by the An-

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cients looked on as one and the same General Council with that of *Nice*; because, forsooth, the Ancients when they do reckon up the General Councils, do never name that of *Sardica* among them; but do constantly put that of *Constantinople* next after the *Nicene*. Which Demonstration of *Baronius's* has but one Fault, and that is, that it proves just the contrary to that for which he produced it. The *Sardican* Council having never been by any of the Ancients looked on as a General Council, nor as one and the same with the *Nicene*, they never numbered it among them, no more than those of *Antioch*, *Ancyra*, &c. And yet poor Protestants, because they will not be convinced by such Arguments as these, are by that modest Cardinal, who always gives hard Names when he is hard pressed, called *Impudent Innovators*.

And as it is not unlikely that *Zozimus's* Canon and its Companions, were for the foresaid Reason fathered on the *Sardican* Council, after the Time of the Sixth Council of *Carthage*; so it is not improbable that that was not done until many Years after that Council; and that it would never have been thought of, if the Christian World would but have been perswaded of the Council of *Nice's* having made more than twenty Canons, and of *Zozimus's* Canon being one of

those that was lost. For in many Years after the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, I have not met with any Writer that speaks of the *Sardican* Councils having made any Canons.

The first Writer, that I know of, that mentions it, is *Dionysius Exiguus*, who lived 200 Years after the *Sardican* Council, and 100 Years after that of *Carthage*, which is a long Time for the Canons of so noted a Council, if it had made any, not to have been spoken of; and especially, if that of *Zozimus's*, which an 100 Years before was exposed on a Stage more publickly than ever any other Canon was, had been one of that Number as it is now.

Now, were it certain that *Dionysius Exiguus* was the first Writer that ever spoke of the *Sardican* Council's having made any Canons; considering the Man, his Talents, Inclination, and Practice, there would be just Cause to suspect him of having been likewise the first Man that helped *Zozimus's* Canon to the Honour of having been made by that ancient Council. For tho' this *Dionysius* was by Nation a *Scythian*, and had studied among the *Grecians* so long as to be Master of their Tongue; yet he had withal lived so long in *Rome*, where he was an Abbot, that no Man was more devoted than he, to the exalting of the Authority of the
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Roman See: And for that End, it is manifest he had no Scruple to make use of Frauds: Witness the Epistles published by him under the Names of divers Popes. Which Epistles whether they were forged by him or not, were palpably too spurious for one of his, or indeed of any Learning, not to have felt them to have been Forgeries.

And as I think it is pretty plain, that there was a Managery about *Zozimus's* Canon both in *Greek* and *Latin*, to make it lie so under the Name of the *Sardican* Council, as should be most for the Advantage of the *Roman See's* Claim to Appeals; so I don't think that any Man was so likely to be that Manager, as this *Dionysius*, who understood both those Tongues, and was the first that turned *Zozimus's* Canon into *Greek*.

That Managery in the *Latin* was, that whereas *Zozimus's* Canon, when it was sent by him into *Africk*, had no *Placet*, nor other Expression of Assent of the Council added to the End of it; and which if it had when it was made, none could have imagined that *Zozimus* would have cut it off, to the maiming of his Canon. So for that Reason, tho' most of the other *Sardican* Canons in *Latin* have the Council's *Placet* or *Decernatur* at the End of them, *Zozimus's* has none there, and that it might lie Word for Word the same in that Council that it lies

now in *Zozimus's* Commonitory, *Hofius*, as if the whole Council had been in his Belly, before he proposed that Canon, is made to have given his *Placuit* to it.

Ferrandus, an *African* Deacon, is the first Writer quoted by *Baronius*, for having published the *Sardican* Canons. But as that Cardinal could not but know, that those Canons were published by *Dionysius Exiguus*, who writ before *Ferrandus* : So it is more than probable, that the Reason why he rather named the *African* Deacon, than that *Roman* Abbot, was, because that Abbot has been long suspected of having set up a Mint at *Rome* for the Coining of false Evidences for the Papal Usurpations, in which he thought *Ferrandus* would not be suspected of having had any Hand.

But tho' among the *Latins*, that Canon would have passed well enough without any Assent of the Council's being added to it, since there was no such Assent to it, when it was made use of by *Zozimus* ; among the *Greeks* when they had it in their Language, it was not to be expected, that it would pass so : But on the contrary, that they would from its having no such Assent to it, object that it did not appear that the Council had agreed to that Canon, when it was proposed to them by *Hofius*. Wherefore to prevent that Objection, the

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Council's Assent is added to it in the Greek.

Now as this appears to have been plain Managery, on purpose to render *Zozimus's* Canon the more serviceable to the *Roman See*, and its Claim to *Appeals*; so who else but *Dionysius*, who turned that Canon into Greek, could well be the Manager: Neither will it be hard to believe, that he who, for the Service of the *Roman See*, did tamper so much with that Canon, would for the same End if there was need of it, stick at helping it to Companions, and fathering it, and them on an ancient Council.

Whether this Prank was played by *Dionysius* or not, he has left but little Room to doubt of his being capable of doing as much as this comes to, to advance the Papal Authority; of which I do reckon him to have been a Master-Builder: For besides the Foundations which he himself laid, he seems to have given the Hint to *Isidore Mercator*, or whoever he was that did long after forge the Decretal Epistles. Which Work, tho' it is now ungratefully slighted by *Baronius*, and some other Papal Champions, did in its dark Day, the Papal Authority more Service, than all the other Books that were ever writ for it, *Baronius's* own Annals not excepted, which tho' infinitely more polite, serves the Papacy too much

much in the same way that they did, by justifying, tho' not by forging of many counterfeit Deeds.

But leaving all this to be determined by better Judgments, it is certain that in some Ages after the Time of the Council of *Sardica*, neither in the *East*, nor in the *West*, that Council was known to have made any such Canon, or if that was known, its Authority was not at all regarded. As to the *East*, the General Councils of *Constantinople* and *Calcedon*, must either have never heard of the Council of *Sardica's* having made any such Canon, as that of *Zozimus's*, or they must have slighted it : The last Appeals of Ecclesiasticks, being by both those Councils, in Contradiction to that Canon, lodged in the Bishops of the neighbouring Province, or in their several Patriarchs ; and in the *West*, Appeals are by the Council of *Arles*, if the *Metropolitan* neglects to do Justice, to any Bishop that has twice appealed to him for it, lodged in a Council of the same Church, and by that Council his Cause was to be finally determined. And in a Council celebrated in *Lions*, after *Dionysius Exiguus's* Death, the *Gallican* Church does order all Debates among Bishops, to be finally decided by their *Metropolitans*. So little was *Zozimus's* Canon, if it was known to the *Gallican* Bishops, under the Name of a Canon of the

the Council of *Sardica*, regarded by them farther.

Martin, Arch-bishop of *Braga*, tho' he was born near to the City of *Sardica*, and lived after *Dionysius Exiguus*, takes no notice of them in the Collection of the Canons published by him in a *Spanish* Council ; but does in that Collection set down a Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which contradicts *Zozimus's*, in not allowing of any *Appeals* to be carried beyond the *Metropolitan*, and Bishops of the neighbouring Province.

And in the middle of the Ninth Century *Photius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, than whom no Man was ever better acquainted with the Canons of the Church, as appears from his Learned Writings, had never heard of the *Sardican* Council's having made any such Canon as that of *Zozimus's*, before he was told of it by Pope *Nicholas*, who had not the Tithe of his Reading and Learning ; and who was very angry with *Photius* for not having heard of that Canon before ; but his Wrath has the less Authority, for his having been angry with *Photius* at the same time, for not having heard of the Decretal Epistles, which had not then been long forged in the *West*. And as *Baronius* is angry of course, which all the Popes are displeased with, so according to his civil Custom in
such

such Cases, he calls that Learned Patriarch an old dissembling Knave, and offers to prove it from his Writings, in which he saith, several of the *Sardican* Canons were to be found, but he does not say that *Zozimus's* was.

Now if *Photius* had set down any of the Canons to which *Baronius* refers, under the Name of the *Sardican* Council, or if those Canons had never been under the Name of any other Council, but the *Sardican*, that might in a good Measure, have justified *Baronius's* having given *Photius* so ill a Name; but if there is not one of those Canons that was not, before *Photius* writ, under the Name of some other Council, and *Baronius* knew as much, as it is very likely he did; that ill Name is thereby thrown back upon him that gave it.

Lastly, There are several Things in these Canons that have a spurious Air in them; for besides the great managed Difference I have taken notice of, there are many more betwixt them in the *Latin* and the *Greek*.

In the *Latin* they are 21; but that they might the more resemble the *Nicene* Canons among the *Greeks*, in the *Greek* they are but 20.

In

In the *Latin*, the 18th Canon is proposed by one *Januarius*, who is not named in the *Greek*.

In the *Latin*, *Zozimus's* Canon is the 7th. in the *Greek* the 5th, with 20 more such differences.

They are also formed in a manner very different from all former Canons, except the *African*, all the former Canons, except the *African*, having been pronounced, and writ as Decrees and positive Laws; whereas these Canons are by the way of Question and Answer, one Bishop proposing one, and another another, and a third a third. Now considering that *Hofius* who was the Leading Man in the *Sardican*, and at which several *Greek* Bishops were present, was the same in the *Nicene* Council, is it not strange, if the *Sardican* Council had made any Canons, that they should not have been framed according to that great Pattern, rather than any other? and whereas in the Acts of the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, *Zozimus's* first Canon has now a *Placuit* before it, and his Second Canon has before it, *Hofius Episcopus dixit*, I am much inclined to think, that these two Prefaces were added to them by *Dionysius Exiguus*, when they were trimmed up by him to be fathered on the *Sardican* Council: And my Reason is, because if those two Canons had had those Prefaces

ces to them, when they were sent by *Zozimus* into *Africk*, that alone would have been sufficient to have demonstrated them, not to have been made by the Council of *Nice*; as *Zozimus* affirmed them to have been, and who being a *Greek*, could not but know, that the *Nicene* Canons had not been proposed nor writ down in that manner. And that there has been tampering with the Acts of the Sixth Council of *Carthage* in *Zozimus's* Favour, is pretty Plain from that Pope's Second Canon, being now called in them a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*. *Baronius*, because he could not help it, acknowledges this not to be right; but he will have it to have happened by the Words, *the Sardican Council*, having been by some innocent Hand writ on the Margin of those Acts; and which in time had stole into their Body, and jostled out of it the Words, *the Council of Nice*. Now though I will not say that this was not possible, yet all things considered, I think one may venture to say that it is not so probable, as it is, that it was a designed Corruption; and which if it was, no Body so likely to have had an Hand in it as *Dionysius Exiguus*, who by that laid up an Ancient Evidence of the *Sardican Council's* having made Statutes, and of one of *Zozimus's* Canons at least having been of that
 Number,

Number, and if this was an Accident, the same I believe happened in the Fifth Statute of the First Council of *Carthage*; which Statute, tho' this Council, as it appears from its *Exordium*, was celebrated before the *Sardican*, is called a *Sardican* Statute; for is it credible, that if the *Sardican* Statutes had been thus publickly mentioned in the First Council of *Carthage*, that in the Sixth Council in the same City, none of the *African* Fathers should ever have heard of them; and that *St. Austin* who was present at it, should know so little of that Council, which in this Statute is called *the most Holy*, as to believe it to have been an *Arian* Assembly? So having told the Impartial, that the Business the Emperor had in that Council, was more like the Work of *Constantine* the Great, than that of his Son *Constance*; and that the Word *Sardican* is in a Statute, brought in by Head and Shoulders, upon a Statute of the Council of *Nice*, proposed by another Bishop; let them judge which is most likely, that *Constantine* should be in the *Exordium* instead of *Constance*, or the Word *Sardican* in that Statute instead of the *Nicene*, as we see it is in the Acts of a latter Council of *Carthage*.

There is another thing that a little disposeth one to suspect *Zozimus's* two Canons,
and

and their Companions to have been formed by *Dionysius* after the *African* Pattern, when he fathered them upon the Council of *Sardica*; and that is, that in his Letter to the Bishop of *Salona*, he tells him that having translated all the *Greek* Canons into *Latin*, He had added to them the *Sardican* and *African* Statutes. Now if this be the first time the *Sardican* Council is said to have made any Statutes; *Dionysius's* joyning them here with the *African*, leads one to think that he might probably put them in the same Dress with their *African* Companions, and especially since it is so hard to find out any other Reason for their being in that Dress. And if the Preface, that is palmed on the Council of *Nice*, in which it is said, *That the Papal Supremacy did not owe its Origin, to the Decrees of Councils, but to Christ's Institution*, and that Patch to the Sixth Canon of the same Council, *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit Primatum*, was *Dionysius's* Manufacture, as they probably were; nothing of this kind was too much for him to do, for the Service of the *Roman See*.

Neither is it very certain that a Legate, sent from *Rome* by the Pope, was called his Legate a *Latere*, as he is in *Zozimus's* Canon now, so early as either the Council of *Sardidica*, or the Sixth Council of *Carthage*.

Now

Now if what has been here offered, should be able only to raise a Suspicion of the *Sardican* Council's not having made the Canons which have passed currant so long under its Name, in any that enjoy more and greater Advantages than I do to carry this Matter farther, I shall reckon my Pains to have been well bestowed; for tho' it is true, that tho' *Zozimus's* Canon had certainly been made by the *Sardican* Council that that would not prove the Papal Supremacy to have been from the Beginning, but rather the Contrary; yet one thing I must say of it, that it would be a Proof of the Antiquity of that Supremacy, far beyond any other that it has.

I shall make Three short Observations, and so put an End to this Essay.

The *First* is, That most of the Canons called the *Sardican*, are the same in Substance with the Canons of the Council of *Antioch*, which was dissolved Five Years before the *Sardican* met; and indeed *Zozimus's* worthy Canon is in Substance the same with the 14th and 15th Canons of that Council, only instead of the *Neighbouring Metropolitan*, the Bishop of *Rome* is thrust into it.

The *Second Observation* is, That in the long and solemn Contest betwixt the *African* Church and Three Popes, concerning

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the Right of Appeals to Rome, the Popes, tho' they laboured hard in vain to have founded that Right on a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, did never say one Word of Christ's having granted them that Authority; so that it is more than probable, that the Bishops of *Rome*, if they could have had that Jurisdiction settled upon them by a General Council, which the Imperial Dignity of their City caused them to thirst after, would have been well contented to have enjoyed it as an Authority granted to them by the Church: But not having been able to obtain that, and fearing that *Constantinople* would by that way sooner get such a Supremacy of Jurisdiction from a General Council than their City, now the Emperors had in a manner left it; they went up to, *Thou art Peter, &c.* for a Grant of that Jurisdiction. And great pity it was, that the Popes when they found that *Zozimus's* Canon could not be imposed on the *African* Bishops, as a *Nicene* Canon, had not tried, whether that of, *Thou art Peter, &c.* would not have succeeded better; for if they had by what *St. Austin*, who was present at that Council, saith of that Text of Scripture in more Places than one, we have Reason to believe the Papal Supremacy might, from those Learned Fathers, have received its Death's Wound in its Cradle.

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The *Last Observation* is, That at the time of the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, nay, until the time that that glorious Church was utterly destroyed by the *Arabs*, the *African* Church had produced many more Learned Men, and who had done the Christian Religion greater Service, than the *Roman* had produced. All the *Latine* Writers, of any great Note in the three first Centuries, having been *African* Christians; and if St. *Ambrose* was not a *Roman*, as I don't think he was by Birth, before Pope *Gregory*, who lived at the latter end of the Sixth Century, there was not a Christian Writer of a great Name, that was either a *Roman* or an *Italian*. And for *Gregory's* Learning, it was with the *Glow-worm*, for its Light, pretty much beholden to the Darkness of the Age it was in. And after *Gregory*, to the Papacy's great Advantage, there was not one in 8 Centuries, that was critically Learned either in the Scriptures, or in Ecclesiastical Antiquity.

Indeed, since Learning was restored in the *West*, by the *Greeks* having come into it a little before and after the Loss of *Constantinople*, *Rome* and *Italy* have abounded with great Scholars in all sorts of Learning. But it may be worth observing, that tho' several of those Learned Men have been raised to the Dignity of Cardinals, not one

of them has ever been able to climb up to the Papal Chair ; which among other Things shews, by what Steps it is ascended, and that the Way to it does not lye thro' the Study of the Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers ; but thro' the Study of Men and Business, and the Policy and Wealth which that Study helps People to. For what a late Pope ingeniously confessed to the *Jan-senists*, when they appealed to him ; which was, *That he had never Studied Divinity*, might, without any prejudice to their Infallibility, have been owned by all the Popes that were not *Monks* or *Friars*, and who had never Studied Ecclesiastical Antiquities neither, to which Schoolmen are commonly as great Strangers as they are to *Greek* and good *Latin*. And as it was the profound Ignorance in the Scriptures and Ecclesiastical History, the *Western Church* was under for many Ages, that filled her with Spurious Writings, forged on purpose to advance the Papal Authority, and that caused them to be universally received as Genuine ; so the same Ignorance has larded those supposititious Writings so with gross Historical Mistakes and Blunders, that none that know any thing of Church History can read them, and not feel them to be Forgeries. And for which Reason, and no other, many

many of them are acknowledged to be so by the ablest Papal Champions.

It might reasonably have been expected, that the Papal Supremacy, after the Deeds by which it was first raised, and was long supported in the *West*, were proved to be Counterfeits, should have sunk with its Foundations; and so it must, if it had not, before those Deeds came to be questioned, made so good Use of its Time, as to have gathered Wealth, and other such Interests sufficient to support it, without any other Title beside that of Possession. There being but few so fond of naked Truth and Justice, when they are discovered, as to sacrifice the greatest Worldly Hopes and Advantages to their Service; or as not to seek by all Subtile and Shuffling Ways and Arts to Baffle and Obscure them, if it be possible. So that that Man, whoever he was, did hit the Nail on the Head, that said, *It was a Jest for the Council of Bazil, which had nothing to give, to contend for Superiority with the Pope, who had so much.*

However, when the Time for the Accomplishment of all the Prophecies relating to that Proud *See* is come; and which is, by many Learned and Pious Men thought not to be far off; no Wealth, Policy, or Sorceries will be able to uphold it; and by that Downfal a most blessed Scene will

will be opened to the whole Christian Church : And all Nations being charmed with the Beauty of her Holiness, will flow unto her, making one Sheepfold under Christ, the great Shepherd of Souls, and the True Head of his Church, which he Purchased with his own Blood; washing them from all the Spots and Blemishes of Popery, the great Corruption of the Christian Faith, Worship, and Spirit.



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